THE ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

13 MAR 196
EXTENSION TRAINING CENTRE

THE GANDHIAN ECONOMY

AND

OTHER ESSAYS

BY

J. C. KUMARAPPA

KUM
1144
X

MAGANVADI

WARDHA, C. P.

1949

E.9
Book No. 27.

THE ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

E.7

THE GANDHIAN ECONOMY

AND

OTHER ESSAYS

Home Economics Dept.
335.4
KUM

BY

J. C. KUMARAPPA

491

MAGANVADI

WARDHA, C. P.

1949

First Edition 1948
Second Edition 1949

PRINTED ON HANDMADE PAPER

PRICE Rs. 2

PUBLISHED BY : J. C. KUMARAPPA, ORGANISER & PRESIDENT
THE ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION
MAGANVADI, WARDHA, C. P.

PRINTED AT : THE COIMBATORE CO-OPERATIVE
PRINTING WORKS, LIMITED
COIMBATORE, S. INDIA

1,000—10—1949

PREFACE.

There has been a pressing demand, especially from students, for a handbook which will give them succinctly the outlook and philosophy of Gandhiji. To provide this need a few of my articles etc. have been collected together in this pamphlet. Those desirous of a more complete study than what is provided here must seek it in the more comprehensive publications of the A. I. V. I. A. the Navajivan Karyalaya etc.

I am grateful to the various journals for allowing us to reproduce my articles here.

10th January 1947,
Maganvadi,
Wardha, C. P.

J. C. Kumarappa.

CONTENTS.

PART I PRINCIPLES

CHAPTER PAGE

I. The Gandhian Economy and the Way to Realise It 1
II. Whither Centralisation 14
III. The Parent of Imperialism 16
IV. Drudgery 19
V. Our Peace Time Currency 20
VI. Our Mineral Policy 25
VII. The Cow Economy 27
VIII. Large Scale Industries and Human Development 29
IX. The Neo-Sermon on the Mount 30
X. His Majesty's Opposition 31

PART II STANDARDS OF LIVING

I. Standards of Living 33
II. Consumer's Duty 38
III. Implementing "Quit India" 40
IV. Race Horses and White Elephants ... 42
V. Sponging on the Voiceless Millions ... 44
VI. Travel or Transport? 47
VII. "Khadi" in Our Life 50

PART III GENERAL

I. The Wind and the Whirl Wind 52
II. Village Industries and the Fight for Freedom ... 54
III. How can Britain Help? 56
IV. A Share in the Booty 59
V. "The Inefficiency" of Village Industries ... 60

CHAPTER		PAGE
VI.	Science Runs Amuck	62
VII.	Goodwill with Whisky	64
VIII.	Sports	65
PART IV FINANCIAL		
I.	Clive to Keynes	67
II.	The Reserve Bank — The Imperial Pawn Shop ...	74
III.	Debtor, Judge and Jury	77
IV.	Government and Deflation	79
V.	The Haves Have It	81
PART V PLANNING		
I.	An Outline of A Planned Economic Order ...	83
II.	Balanced Cultivation	95
III.	Is it Narrow and Self-Centred ?	98
IV.	This Picture and That	100
V.	Nationalisation	102
VI.	Cost of Planning	104
VII.	A Criticism — Sir Ardeshir Dalal's Plan ...	106
VIII.	Production *Vs.* Destruction	110
IX.	Ryots or Tenants	114
X.	Freedom for the Millions	116

A. I. V. I. A. PUBLICATION LIST

PART I

PRINCIPLES

The Gandhian Economy and the Way to Realise It

(Being a summary of a speech delivered at the City College, Nagpur, on 15th September, 1945.)

If there is anything that characterises Gandhiji's life, it is his devotion to Truth and Non-violence. Any economy that is associated with his name should, therefore, answer to these fundamental principles. At the present time, the world is steeped in violence and false propaganda, and it is Gandhiji alone who stands beckoning the world to these eternal principles and to the economy based on them which will be permanent and will lead to the peace and happiness of mankind.

THE NATURAL ECONOMY

The natural economy calls for the satisfaction of the demands made by the primary needs of our body and by the requirements to keep it in good working condition. As long as we satisfy our needs in this way without infringing on the rights of others, there is no occasion for violence.

THE ARTIFICIAL ECONOMY

The ordinarily understood economic organisation of the West believes in a multiplicity of wants. It creates the supply, and then creates a demand for it, and thus strives to dispose of its production. It therefore means cultivating a great many artificial desires. Such an economic organisation produces goods without reference to the demand. A shoe factory, for instance, will work to its full capacity irrespective of the market it is intended for, as it is working in competition with other similar units, and when it has produced its full quota of goods, then it seeks to dispose of these goods elsewhere. Italy may be producing, we may say for the sake of illustration, a million pairs of shoes, and if these cannot be disposed of within that country itself, then she has got to find markets outside. She sees in Abyssinia,

where people go bare-footed, an opportunity to "civilize" them and fit them with up-to-date shoes, and thus create a market for their own goods. To control other people's lives in this manner, it requires political power; and to obtain such power, it is necessary to resort to violence.

In the same manner, Japan when she industrialised herself in the beginning of this century began to push her goods in various countries. But she found as days went on that it was not possible to control her markets satisfactorily without direct political power. That then is the reason for Japan desiring to control China. When we buy foreign goods — especially goods other than luxuries — it will call for violence at one stage or another. Japan also came to India and sold her flimsy articles at cheap prices and captured a big section of her market. Now, after nearly half-a-century, Japan feels the necessity of having direct control over all her markets.

FOREIGN DOMINATION

Thus the buying of foreign goods is a definite invitation to or a bait for foreigners to occupy our country. Therefore, we, who want to be left alone, should reduce the demand for foreign articles. We cannot, on the one hand, extend an invitation to these countries to come to us by demanding their goods, and on the other hand, try to drive them out with machine guns and atom bombs. Wherever the carcass is, there will the vultures be also. The best way to get rid of the vultures is to bury the carcass, and this carcass is our foreign trade in necessities. Such foreign trade as we might have should always be in surpluses. When foreign trade is restricted to the surplus, it need not lead ultimately to violence, because both the parties to the transactions are exchanging goods which they do not need for themselves; and this exchange leads to mutual profit; and where there is complete satisfaction on both sides there is no occasion for violence.

UNTRUTH IN BUSINESS

This creation of a demand to take up the existing supply is generally done by intensive propaganda in the form of advertisements advocating the use of such stock. Therefore,

such advertisements often infringe the borders of Truth and lead to false advertisements and over-statements to induce people to go in for such existing stock. Even if this did not lead to violence directly, such advertisements and propaganda being based on falsehood is objectionable.

DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

Our life does not consist in the multitude of things we possess. Our life is something higher than material possessions, and our life is also to be looked at from the possibilities of development of our personality. The personality of an individual does not require for its development the satisfaction of a multiplicity of wants. In fact, the simpler the life the more conducive it is for exercising the higher faculties. The phrase "to plan for the future of our country" commonly used by people to denote the betterment of the life of the people, is often misleading. They also talk, constantly, of "raising the standard of living". In a country like ours, where people live on the margin of subsistence, any such raising of the standard of living must refer to the satisfaction of the primary needs, and not the acquisition of new habits. The term "high standard of living" is often made use of to connote a life led with a desire to satisfy multiplicity of wants, and it has no reference to the qualitative condition of life. It refers to the quantitative aspect of one's existence. Therefore, the more accurate way of describing this position would be to talk of a "complex life" and a "simple life" rather than a "high" and a "low" standard. Simply because a British Tommy requires a hundred and one things for his apparel, food, drinks, smokes, etc., it does not mean his standard of living is "high" as compared to the life of, say, a person like Gandhiji. We may say that Gandhiji's is a "high" standard of living while referring to the quality of life he leads and a "simple" life referring to his material wants; while that of a British Tommy would be a "low" standard of life qualitatively and a "complex" standard quantitatively. Hence, what we want to give our people is a high standard of life which will be simple. A great many possessions of material wealth will choke human life with the cares and worries attached to them. With such possessions and encumbrances, man is not free to think his

higher thoughts and to develop freely, and hence a complex standard is like shackles to a man. It cramps his higher self from free development.

THE PURPOSE

What the Gandhian Economy aims at is to furnish all our people with their full requirements of food, clothing, shelter, education, medical care, sanitation, hygiene, etc. These are our primary needs, and it is not beyond our capacity to meet them if we will only concentrate our efforts in this direction. Over and above these, if we aspire for luxuries and indulgences, man's life becomes wasted in the effort to acquire such things. Therefore, if any planning is to be done for our country, it should be with definite reference to and emphasis on our subsistence, such as, food grains, vegetables, fruits, growing of cotton, and obtaining building materials for simple dwellings.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

This must be done in a form in which it will distribute wealth, and will work in a satisfactory manner. Our problem is to give employment to 400 millions of people in such a way that everyone would get his own primary needs satisfied. That means, our method of work has to be such which will distribute wealth in the process of producing wealth. Distribution and production if they do not go together or take place simultaneously, often lead to accumulation of wealth on the one side, and poverty and misery on the other.

THE METHOD

In our country there is a dearth of capital; while there is an inexhaustible source of human labour. Material wealth can be produced in two ways. One is by using capital instruments of production with very little labour, and the other is a minimum of capital instruments with the maximum of labour. In the conditions that prevail in our country, therefore, the latter method is more suitable. People have not the capital to obtain instruments of production for standardised and centralised industries. But we have unlimited labour power waiting to be used. In America and England, the methods of production that they have evolved, have

EX7

a direct reference to the means of production that were available to them. There, the labour force was meagre, while capital was in plenty; while the opposite is true of our country at present. Hence to apply the methods that will fit into the set of conditions which obtained in the West to our country now, where another set of conditions prevails, would be a folly.

REAL VALUES

The wealth of our country cannot be measured by the number of millionaires the country possesses. The country's well being is dependent on the happiness of the largest number of people, which means on the capacity of the largest number to satisfy their primary needs. In our country, therefore, it is not the accumulation of wealth, but the distribution of wealth as evenly as possible, that is to be desired. Even without any production it is possible to increase wealth by merely adjusting the distribution of wealth. For instance, a rupee in the hands of a labourer may represent the means of satisfying his hunger and the wants of his family for a whole day; while the same amount in the hands of a rich man may represent the cost of a **chhota-peg**, a cigar or just a tip to a Taxi-Driver. Therefore, when we take a rupee from a poor man and pass it on to a rich man, we are reducing the human value of the satisfaction that amount can give; whilst the reverse process where the value of a cigar is made to satisfy the hunger of a family for a whole day increases its human value. The satisfaction of human wants in this case has increased the value of the rupee. In the same manner, even our governmental expenses should be so planned that the taxes that are collected from the poor people should not be used to benefit the rich; but the wealth should flow from the rich to the poor. This, in itself, will enrich the national wealth of the country even though there may be no extra production.

TRADE CYCLES

When we take to centralised methods of production, we have to sink a great deal of capital in the instruments of production. This capital represents wealth restrained from freely circulating

in the country. Just as we put a dam across a river to accumulate water in a reservoir, in the same way the current of wealth has to be restricted so that it may accumulate capital. In so far as capital is a result of restricted distribution, it is an evil in itself. Periodically we have economic depressions and booms. These are caused largely because of such restrictions in distribution. A mill-owner who produces Rs. 10,000/- worth of goods would pay in the form of wages and salaries about Rs. 3,000/-. That is, in other words, he puts into circulation Rs. 3,000/- while the stock of goods available in the market is increased by Rs. 10,000/- worth. Naturally, therefore, there is not sufficient purchasing power to enable the public to take up all the production. When this state of affairs becomes common, it leaves a residue of production from every mill which does not get into the hands of the consumers. When such unsold goods accumulate, we have a period of depression, and to liquidate this depression it becomes necessary to have a war.

WAR AS AN ECONOMIC FACTOR

These periodical business cycles are relieved from time to time by wars between nations. Wars, therefore, have become a part and parcel of the Western economic organization based on centralised production. A producer should aim at setting in circulation as large a purchasing power as is required to absorb his production, if he desires his goods to be taken up by the consumers. This can only be done when production is mainly based on the cost of materials and the wages. But when a large proportion of the cost of production goes into interest on capital and replacement of heavy instruments of production, immediately it restricts the distribution of wealth. This is one of the main causes of the periodical upheavals in the form of global wars that we are becoming accustomed to.

From what has been said hitherto, it would be clear that, in our country at least, the methods of production ordinarily used in centralised industries and highly specialised instruments of production, will be out of place, and if resorted to, will lead to unrest and dissatisfaction. Hence, if we aim at obtaining peace and prosperity for the masses, we should eschew the use of such methods of production.

FALSE CLAIMS

It is wrong to argue that centralised industries reduce cost of production, and it is also wrong to claim that centralised industries are more likely to utilize our resources to the best advantage. Take, for instance, a centralised paper-making mill which uses bamboo pulp as raw material. To feed such a mill, you will have to get a forest of tender bamboos which can be cut down and brought to the mill regularly, to supply the raw materials. We have to have this growth of bamboos regulated according to the needs of the mill. On the other hand, if paper is made by cottage process, the bamboo from the forest is not used directly as raw material. First of all, the bamboos may be used for making mats, baskets, roofing materials, etc. These will serve their purpose for some years during which time they will get rotten and when they become useless, this material will be reduced to pulp and made into paper. Which then is the more economic use of raw materials — the bamboo which is fed directly to the mill or by a process by which the bamboo serves to satisfy several other wants before it is reduced to pulp?

As regards cheapness of production often attributed to large scale industries, there is not much basis for such an argument. The cheapness is largely due to the legitimate expenses that should be borne by the mill-owners, being borne from other funds. It is on the same basis as the selling of stolen goods. A man who steals a gold watch worth Rs. 100/- can sell it for Rs. 15/- and yet make a profit of Rs. 15/- on it; because he himself has not borne the cost of the watch. But a goldsmith who buys the gold and makes a necklace or some such ornaments out of it will have comparatively very little profit. That does not argue that stealing is a better method of acquiring wealth. Cotton that is grown in the backyard of a cottage by a half-starved old woman and woven into cloth by a village weaver may be worth a rupee per yard, while the mill-cloth from Manchester Mills may sell at 6 annas per yard. The owner of the mill may be leading a life of luxury in England. It naturally seems to be contradictory to commonsense that the cloth produced by our poor people out of their meagre resources should be more expensive than the cloth produced by the mill-owner. Therefore,

it puts us on our enquiry as to why the mill-cloth is cheap. Cotton that is needed for the mills is long-staple cotton. This long-staple cotton has been produced in India with great research and expenditure of money for this research, and such cost has not been borne by the mill-owner. They have been paid out of the taxes to maintain the so-called Agricultural Colleges. The cotton is transhipped by railways to the ports. These railways and ports have also been built at public cost. The actual freight that is charged does not compensate for the construction and the maintenance of these means of transport. The freight rates themselves are fixed by the Government, not on a cost basis, but to make it cheaper to send out raw materials and to bring in manufactured goods from abroad. That being so, here also the cost of the Manchester Mill has been made less at the cost of the public or by public expenditures. Similarly, the policing of the ocean routes by the Navy and Naval Bases through which these raw materials are taken to the mills, are also maintained at public expenditure. Towards all these, the mill-owner pays nothing comparatively. Then, is it a wonder that his cost is low? If he is made to pay the full cost that is incidental to the supply of his raw materials, it would not be possible for him to sell his cloth at all. From this point of view, Khadi can be said to be an honest product as it bears all its own expenditure, while in the case of mill-cloth only a part of its cost is represented in the price. Therefore, when we buy mill-cloth, we pay only a part of the cost, the balance is made up by expenditure out of public funds. Hence its apparent cheapness.

SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

The poor people use little or nothing of this fine mill-cloth, while the expenditure for producing this has been partly paid out of the taxes paid by them. Comparatively, the richer man uses more cloth than the poor. Hence, their benefits from the public expenditure are much greater. As we have pointed out earlier, this mode of expenditure which enriches the rich man at the cost of the general public, which is the poorer section, leads to the lessening of national wealth; hence the mill production of cloth harms the economy of the country. It makes the rich richer and the poor poorer.

IMPERIALISM

Apart from this cost of production, a centralised industry has to draw its raw materials from the four corners of the world. That means a centralised industry should be able to control politically these places from where it gets its raw materials. That again leads us to the use of violence, to subject a simple people to political domination and make them merely raw material producers, securing to the more violent nations the right and privilege of manufacturing finished goods. This is the basis of all imperialism.

If we feel that this form of political organization does not lead eventually towards a betterment of the masses of the people, then it becomes necessary for us to oppose these methods of production even from the point of view of equity. In India, when we buy cheap foreign goods the lower price that we pay is in a measure made up by the loss of our independence. So that when we say a thing is cheap, it means we pay less for it in cash and make up the balance by our political bondage. Is this not too big a price to pay for what may be considered a transient and a passing advantage, if advantage it be?

THE DUTY OF BUYERS

If our better sense dictates to us that these methods are ruinous from the point of view of the welfare of the people, then what is the course that we should adopt? Every one of us who buys, or has a means of buying certain article, has the power also to direct its production in a particular channel. When we buy a Japanese article, we are directing production towards Japan. That is, in other words, we are creating unemployment in India, and additional employment in Japan. When we consistently buy foreign articles, we are deliberately impoverishing our own people, as we are driving employment away from our own country. Therefore, everyone who buys, whether it be for one rupee or a thousand rupees, has a moral responsibility to see that the way he expends money does not impoverish our country, and bring ruin and desolation to the people.

OUR MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

We ourselves become parties to the methods of production used in producing goods we buy. If a tin of cocoa is produced from nuts cultivated in West Africa, roasted and tinned in England, brought to India and sold here; if the cultivation takes place in Africa under the terms and forms of slavery or indentured labour, and the roasting and tinning take place in England under sweated labour, and favourable customs and tariffs are afforded for the sale of this tin of cocoa by the Government of India, because of the political power they hold here, then when we buy a simple, harmless looking tin of cocoa, we become parties directly for supporting the slave labour conditions in Africa, the exploited labour conditions of England and the political subjection of India, in the same manner, as if one were to buy an ornament that has been taken from a child which had been murdered for it, one would become guilty or a party to that murder. No one of us would want to buy such an article, however, cheap it may be offered. Our moral vision is wide awake enough to recognise this. But when it comes to buying our everyday requirements, we often say: "How can I be a party to things done in other countries?" We cannot in this way repudiate our responsibilities and get clear of it morally.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The only way to clear oneself is not to buy goods, the conditions of production of which one is not aware. That is, we have to limit our circle from which we draw our requirements. If instead of buying cocoa, we find a neighbour who has a good cow which he looks after well, then buying the milk from such a neighbour will not make us parties to grave moral responsibilities. This argument or outlook is the basis for the advocacy of self-sufficiency under the Gandhian method of life. If we produce everything we want from within a limited area, we are in a position to supervise the methods of production; while if we draw our requirements from the ends of the earth, it becomes impossible for us to guarantee the conditions of production in such places.

NEED FOR SELF-CONTROL AND DISCIPLINE

These various considerations drive us to the conclusion that we have to restrict our consumption to goods produced locally, and by methods in which labour forms the major part. It may, therefore, mean that we cannot indulge our desires freely. It brings into effect a considerable amount of restraint on our pursuit of happiness. We have to develop self-control, and our discipline has to be formed within, if our organisation is to be one based on non-violence and truth. This is comparatively a harder life to lead, a life in which values are not directed towards the satisfaction of our own desires but by a consideration of benefits to and welfare of others. It also calls for a far-sightedness and a standard of values in which the price of mechanism will not be the final deciding factor. There are values other than those indicated by prices. The large scale industries which have to find markets for their goods in remote parts of the world depend purely on money values. The one thing that would be necessary in an organisation based on non-violence and truth would be the standard of values based on moral considerations rather than material considerations, and such call for self-restraint rather than self-indulgence. All this will point towards the development of character of the individual. Unless an individual is highly trained and disciplined, he will find it irksome to live within such an economy. No life of indulgence can ever lead to progress and further development of the individual. Every man under training must be under restraint, if he has to develop in a line laid out for him. The modern methods of production and distribution have made indulgence their goal. This has naturally deteriorated the moral qualities of our people. It is necessary for us, therefore, to re-educate the people in a standard of values which will have a bearing on human life as a whole, and not merely on the economic production and distribution of goods. The way to realise this economy is through self-discipline and self-control. Everyone of us who desires to bring such economy into existence has to plan our lives so that we do not live to our selves, but be conscious of the fact that every act of ours affects our fellow beings one way or the other.

THE DAILY DRILL

As a measure of developing this discipline, Gandhiji has introduced one technique, and that is Daily Spinning. Just as an army has to be disciplined by daily marching to orders, drilling and manoeuvring in the fields, in the same manner our non-violent army of consumers will have to control ourselves through this daily-spinning-hour. People may ask if they may not take to something else. Where a national programme is concerned, there is need for uniformity, and by conforming to that uniformity also we are under discipline; and such discipline helps in the building up of character. The very foundation of a national economy based on Non-violence and Truth is character, and character cannot be formed overnight. A nation that is built on these solid foundations will ever be free. It cannot be subject to foreign domination. It is in this connection that Gandhiji says: "Spin, and you will get Swaraj". Spinning requires discipline, and a disciplined nation will be able to resist intrusion into its life by foreigners.

FOREIGN TRADE

Often people wonder if it is possible at this stage to keep off the foreigner by non-violent means. We have already seen the foreigner is coming into our land not by himself. He comes at our invitation, and with our co-operation. We extend our invitation when we buy foreign-made goods, and we co-operate with him when our consumption is based on his production. Therefore, when we keep away from foreign goods, we naturally give no room or cause for foreigners to come here. This does not mean that there should be no foreign trade at all; it only means that there should be no foreign trade in necessities. Foreign trade should be strictly limited to surplus articles that we do not need, and for obtaining surplus articles from other countries which they do not need. Such foreign trade based on surpluses will never lead to international warfare.

THE WAY

The only way to bring in peace and happiness to mankind, and realising the Economy that Gandhiji stands for, is to take up his programme of constructive work. Such an Economy cannot

be brought in by force from without. It needs co-operation and our willing submission to the conditions which will ultimately lead us to realise this Economy. Therefore, it demands our best, conscientious efforts. We cannot drift into it by merely floating easily down-stream. We have got to strive for it with all our strength of will, with a purposeful outlook on life and with a determination to achieve what we are after. If we do that, we shall be contributing, not only to the welfare of our country, but towards the brotherhood of mankind as a whole.

CHAPTER II

Whither Centralisation

With the advent of the so-called popular ministries people's minds are agitated over the policies that these ministries should follow. At the moment there is a considerable amount of loose thinking in regard to the expansion of the textile mills in Madras, which brings to the fore the question of centralisation in industries.

It is not generally understood that Imperialism is a child of centralised industries and now in its dotage centralised industries cannot exist without the support of imperialism.

When England took to centralised methods of production Great Britain was not an Empire. Its economic life was based on decentralised methods of production. She was a highly cultured country with a strong moral background. Even now when we think of her great contributions to the progress of man we have to look back to the period before the Industrial Revolution. The best of her literature — Shakespeare, Milton and such like were Elizabethian; in art, men of the type of Sir Joshua Reynolds flourished prior to the nineteenth century. Sir Christopher Wren and his peers in architecture never saw a textile mill to afford them inspiration. Moral giants like Latimer who were British Satyagrahis, who were prepared to lay down their lives for their convictions, never saw the power of the steam engine. We may say the Victorian Era was the darkest age in British History culturally whatever its glamour may have been financially and materially. After the Industrial Revolution, Great Britain gained the whole world but lost its soul. Why was this?

When Great Britain took to centralised methods of production in textile industry, and was relying for her raw materials on commercial contracts with the southern States of America she found her position was unstable as during the American Civil War her industries were hard hit when the American cotton could not reach Manchester. She realised that if her industries were to survive she ought to have the production

of raw materials under her direct control. So she turned to India to ensure her cotton supply and keep her markets for finished goods also under her political control. This was the birth of British Imperialism.

This arrangement was found very satisfactory for the mill-owners as they saddled several items of their cost also on Indian Revenues. The cost of research incidental to the production of long-staple cotton, the discriminating freight rates, the shipping policy etc. were controlled in favour of the British manufacturers. Thus their cost of production was kept low.

For the .political control of raw material producers and markets it is necessary to maintain strong Army, Navy and Air Forces. The cost of these again are charged to the state and not to the beneficiaries — the mill-owners. Thus it is that by these unseen and unrecorded subsidies that the products of mills appear cheaper.

In our own life time, such has been the experience of industrialisation in Japan also. She finds the need to control politically Manchuria and China. These are the irritant causes of global wars today. Do we want our country also to have a share in these nefarious activities ? If not, we must steer clear of centralisation in the production of consumption goods for private profit.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
December, 1946.

CHAPTER III

The Parent of Imperialism

Imperialistic countries have not entered on the method of controlling the life of the people of other countries after full consideration of the circumstances, nor had they any evil designs on the independence of the governed peoples. Imperialism has been a gradual and natural growth out of circumstances demanded by centralised industries for their own development and maintenance. Centralised industries, which work on a large scale, require a steady stream of raw materials at one end and a dependable market for finished goods at the other. To enable the industrialists to control these conditions it becomes necessary for them to obtain political control over raw material producers, not only to get the ready materials themselves but also to ensure the production of materials in sufficient quantities. Great Britain was not an imperialistic country a hundred years ago but she became an imperialistic country about the middle of the last century when she discovered that it was a precarious economic existence to depend upon cotton from the southern states of America purely on a contract basis. After her experience of the disturbances caused by the Civil War in America she turned to India for her raw materials and to ensure against any political disturbances upsetting her economic order, she felt it necessary to control our country's economic life in the interests of Great Britain.

Wherever we see the seeds of centralised industries germinating we find also a soil ready for imperialism. Within the last half a century, Japan had adapted the imperialistic approach to economics following her accepting the method of large scale production as their normal form of economic order.

Similarly, even small units, which start on the large scale methods of production, are faced by problems which can only be solved by an imperialistic approach. In a village near Coimbatore an enterprising individual had set up six looms run by a crude oil engine. He had spent about Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000 on his equipment. He was able to run it for barely 18 days in the month on the yarn quota supplied from Coimbatore. He was representing his needs and said that if he could be supplied with half as much

yarn again he could run his unit the whole month round and reduce his expenses to such an extent as to cut down even on the mill costs of production. His raw material, viz. warps, came from Coimbatore and his finished goods were sold somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nellore. The logical course in time will be for this man to get control over his raw material producer, viz., the Coimbatore mill-owners. If he can get hold of an army of goondas who will, at the point of the dagger, obtain all the yarn that he needs, he would be able to make his mill work more "efficiently" than the large textile mills. Again, if he can get special low rates of transport for his goods to Nellore, he can also undersell the textile mills. This in miniature represents the position of all centralised industries. They have got to resort to imperialism and exploitation as a condition precedent to their existence. Centralised method of production is the parent of Imperialism.

FOOD Vs. RAW MATERIALS

Thus controlling raw materials available is not enough in itself, especially where the raw material is an agricultural product. In such cases the machinery of agricultural research institutes is taken possession of to produce what the mills require even as against the food requirements of the people. The present day famines are in no small measure due to such encroachments. In Malabar, in several villages the land under paddy had been reduced by about 20% and in their place cocoanut groves have sprung up. The cocoanut groves were intended, not for purposes of food, but for supplying copra for the oil-mills which, in their turn, were producing soap. Is it any wonder when such shifting of crops can take place that we should be subject to periodical famines?

In Malabar, children run about with brownish hair. When the cause was enquired into, it was said that formerly these children were bathed in cocoanut oil and had plenty of oil to rub on their scalp. But now the cocoanuts were selling practically at the same high prices as prevail in Madras, and therefore, these children do not get the oil for their massage. In these ways centralised industries have to encroach on the primary requirements of our people, starve them and bring about ill health, so that their production may be ensured.

MONEY ECONOMY

With the help of money economy, these things are done without the victim being aware of it. Money is not a safe method of valuing articles, especially of primary necessities. For instance, at Avanashi Firka a good deal of the milk produced was being sent to Coimbatore. The value of a pound of milk is in the nutrition it affords. The milk producer, if he gives it to his child, ensures sufficient calcium to build up the child's bones, fat and other nutritious materials to build up the body. The value of the milk from the natural point of view is the same whether it is consumed by the mill-owner or the producer's child. We may even say the value of milk is greater when given to a growing child than when given to an adult. Just because the rich mill-owner of Coimbatore is able to offer As. 8/- for a pound of milk, the Avanashi producer, deprives his child of this nutritious food, and sends it away to Coimbatore. In so doing he does not realise that he is, in effect. selling the future health of the child. Therefore, in all our considerations in regard to our rural development, we have to bear in mind that neither centralised industries, nor their efficiency nor even their money values can be the sole arbiter to guide our decisions. We have to think in terms of the well-being of the people irrespective of the commercial value of the product. In most cases, it may even mean that we may have to get people to do things which, at the moment, may appear against their own interests.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
January, 1947.

CHAPTER IV

Drudgery

The unpleasant part of work is not necessarily drudgery. What makes for drudgery is the lack of interest in work. The same operations may be drudgery to one and a soul absorbing work to another. To a paid gardener his digging up the flower-beds or watering them may be drudgery but to the garden-lover such work will provide the outlet for his sense of beauty. To the woman whose heart is in dance, tea and cocktail parties, looking after her child will be drudgery, while to the lover of the home the child will provide the pivot round which her universe will revolve. Some claim that drudgery may be done away with by resorting to machine production. In fact machines are the tools with which work is split up into its component parts making it impossible for the labourers to take an intelligent interest in their operations and hence such machines create drudgery. A man detailed out to perform but one operation all the 8 hours of the day has the quintessence of drudgery. In jails, where the philosophy of work is pure and simple punishment, even artistic work, such as carpet weaving, is reduced to drudgery.

Then how can we dispense with drudgery? Only by creating an interest in the work. A farmer, who has been educated to realise the social aspect of his contribution and is enabled to see in every furrow he makes, the formation of life giving channels which will carry food and hope to starving fellowmen, will take pleasure and pride in the role he plays in society and, obtaining satisfaction to his soul, will put his heart into his work. No tractor can do that. That is the only way to counteract drudgery.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
November, 1946.

CHAPTER V

Our Peace Time Currency

We take money so much for granted that hardly anyone of us stops to think what money is, what its functions are, what misuses are made of it and what consequences arise from its understrained operations.

EXCHANGE

To understand the part money plays in the economic life of a people it is necessary to have a grasp of the exact place and purpose of money. It is usually termed medium of exchange. In a small society, where every producer can get at the consumer directly, commodities can easily exchange for other commodities. In a village a man may possess a herd of cattle who needs straw, while a cultivator who has a stack of straw that he does not need but may require a young calf which can be trained into a working bullock. So, these two persons agree—the farmer parts with his surplus stack of straw to the herdsman who gives the farmer a calf he does not need. Both are gainers. This is the simplest and the purest form of exchange and results in profit to both parties to it and it is confined to surplus products. Here no money enters into the transaction. Such an exchange of goods is termed "Barter". This may be expressed graphically thus:-Commodity = Commodity.

As society gets more complicated and division of labour plays an important role it becomes more and more difficult for a producer to find a consumer who would also possess something he himself needs. A man may want to dispose of a cow and get a radio set, but the prospective buyer of his cow may have no wireless sets to part with. In such a case both aspects of the transaction cannot be completed between the same parties at the same time. It has to be split into two component parts and each incomplete section should be provided with tokens representing the ability of the selling party to buy, commonly called by academicians "Purchasing Power" which will enable the owner to complete his part of exchange when he is able to get what he requires. This token may be termed an Intermediate and the transaction may be represented by :—

Commodity—Intermediate   Intermediate—Commodity

If the Intermediate plays its part properly and truthfully here also there should be no occasion for loss, rather, there should be mutual profit. Such an Intermediate is a good medium of exchange.

MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE

All kinds of things have been used for this purpose—shells, leather pieces etc.—when society was limited, but as these transactions took place between parties at great distances it became necessary to fix upon some common commodity that may be in demand in all places. Such a commodity was gold. Besides being a universally required article its value was also more or less stable so that even if the transactions were separated by time there was no loss in the purchasing power.

CURRENCY COINS

Though the metal gold was a good medium of exchange it was not possible at every transaction to test its purity and determine its value. To make its value possible to be known readily somebody whose integrity was above question had to certify the value of pieces of metal that can be handled easily. Kings, and later governments, undertook this work in their mints and thus we came to the use of coins.

FUNCTION OF MONEY

As we have already seen the chief function of the Intermediate was to enable the parties to a transaction to break up their dealings into two parts and conveniently complete them when they can. To do this the Intermediate has to perform two main functions : (1) it should faithfully report the value received from one party to another and (2) if a period of time should lapse between the two transactions it should not change its value in the interval. Unfortunately, these two conditions are not always possible of fulfilment. Besides, gold is imperishable while most commodities are perishable, therefore, the medium of exchange has its own limitations. If we ignore these limitations and use money as though it represented absolute values we are in danger of bringing about inequity and afford chances of exploitation.

MONEY AND EXPLOITATION

An old woman selling plantains may demand 5 annas for a bunch of a dozen in the morning but as the day wears off the plantains will deteriorate and in the evening she may offer them at 3 annas per dozen. But the holder of money is in no such danger of his purchasing power diminishing with time. So he can afford to bide his time. In other words the bargaining power rests with the holder of money and not with the owner of commodities. This power can be used by the holder of money for his own advantage. In such cases money becomes a means of exploitation.

On the other hand money may also be depreciated especially in fiat money where artificial tokens are used. For instance during the last war, the British Government bought all kinds of commodities in India and placed with the Reserve Bank paper acknowledgements called "Sterling Securities" as pledges to the extent of about 1,500 crores. Now they are talking of scaling them down, say, to 1,000 crores. Here again, on scaling down, there will be exploitation and deception to the extent of 500 crores or more.

MONEY AND VALUES

We had said that money should faithfully transfer values. This function is also difficult of performance. A labourer may earn a rupee by the sweat of his brow and it may represent a day's food for him and his family, while the same rupee may represent the value of a cigar to a wealthy man. So if the rupee of the poor man is so used as to be passed on to the rich man then there is a fall in the transfer of values. If poor men are taxed and the benefit from taxation goes to the rich there is a loss in national wealth. Or, if poor people buy mill goods and the profits accumulate to the rich mill-owners again there is a loss in values caused by the limitations of money economy.

MONEY, TRADE CYCLES AND WAR

As long as we consume all that we produce within a reasonable time the current of wealth keeps running freely. Just as, if we want a water reservoir created in a running stream we place a dam across the current and water accumulates, so also, when capital is needed, as it is for centralised methods of production, we have to restrict the distribution of wealth. In other

words, consumption has to be less than production. Accumulation can only be had on this basis. For instance, if a mill produces consumable articles worth Rs. 10,000 and pays only Rs. 3,000 as wages, salaries etc., it means as against a production of Rs. 10,000 there is put into circulation purchasing power of only Rs. 3,000. Hence ultimately a great deal of production remains unsold. This causes a depression. To find markets outside and to relieve the depression wars are waged periodically and that completes the trade cycle. Thus wars have become part and parcel of our economic organisation based on a money economy.

MONEY AND IMPERIALISM

This naturally brings us to a stage where an industrialised country wants to maintain a ready market, even at the ends of the world, for its production and also have under control sources of raw materials for its factories. Although taken as a whole international trade is in exchange of commodities yet every unit of production or sale, i.e., factories or sale agencies, taken separately can only deal with the help of money. A manufacturer in England may be getting bauxite ores from India and selling sheets of aluminum made from it to America. The English manufacturer has to pay for the ores in rupee exchange and get his sale proceeds in dollars. This cannot be done without the medium of money and foreign currency exchanges. Therefore, these wide-flung empires for economic purposes are made possible and can only exist because of the facilities afforded by money.

MONEY AS THE SINEWS OF WAR

To keep the trade cycle moving and to maintain empires, it is necessary to maintain the Army, Navy and the Air Forces. These are all consumption services, i.e., they use up commodities, but they have no commodities to offer in exchange. Therefore, they have their origin in Money. Money=Commodities expresses their transactions graphically. These global wars would never have been possible, if Great Britain had to pay every penny of their cost in commodities only. She paid for this war partly by disposing of thousands of millions of accumulated capital in the form of investments, made possible by the money economy, partly by borrowing and partly by spurious credits raised by the money mechanism of inflation and Sterling Credits.

CONCLUSION

All the aspects of money economy we have touched upon show that money is the root of many evils though, if wisely used in a strictly restricted manner, it is a great convenience. At present it has led to feverish activity in the production of goods by centralised methods of production requiring much capital, large markets and wide sources of raw material. All this has made war a necessity and practically it has become the most important factor of production. It has made possible wide disparity in the distribution of wealth, giving rise to self-indulgence on the one side and much want and misery on the other. Hence, if we would learn from the experience of the past, we ought to contract our money economy and enlarge facilities for commodity exchanges. Only in this way lies the road to peace and general well-being. The other has led us to repeated wars, destruction and much misery. Would we have the courage of our convictions to stand up for a state of affairs which we feel sure is the right course ?

THE MORAL

We should not rest content until we get all that is due to us from Great Britain. She may not be able to pay us in commercial commodities but she can return to us the gold and silver taken from our countryside. She has to her credit over 3,500 million dollars worth of these in American vaults. If these are paid back to us we should delink the rupee from the amorphous sterling and place it on a gold basis, and make the balance of the precious metals not needed for currency purpose available to the people in open market. India is an agricultural country where the farmers dispose of their produce at the harvest time and the purchasing power they obtain from the proceeds has to serve them, perhaps, for a whole year. If it depreciates in the meanwhile they stand to lose the full benefit of their hard labour. Therefore, a stable currency, unaffected by the vagaries of the needs of the British financial hegemony is an essential condition for the welfare of our masses and we have to strive hard to establish it if we aim at securing their prosperity.

Free Press Journal,
Economic Supplement.

CHAPTER VI

Our Mineral Policy

During this month the Government of India is calling a conference to discuss the national mineral policy. It is well to remember that minerals are the treasure trove of a nation. They represent sources of employment to the people in working them. They also afford channels of international trade in proved surpluses.

Our mineral policy, therefore, will have to take into consideration these aspects. While we are not ready to work the minerals to the best advantage by our own effort nothing is lost by letting them rest where they are. It will be held in trust for generations to come who, when they are ready, will be able to do justice to them. At this stage when India is not yet able to feed and clothe herself, all our efforts should be concentrated on these primary needs. Afterwards when we have more energy at our disposal it would be necessary to investigate our mineral possibilities by scientific prospecting. It is not wise to merely dig up the ores and send them abroad. Such a course is equivalent to the action of a prodigal who sells his patrimony so as to live on it. If we are to use our resources carefully we must transform these ores into finished products before we send them abroad. Until we are able to do that it will be in the interests of the nation to leave them alone.

Mineral wealth of a country represents the possibilities of employment also. When we export raw materials like iron ore, bauxite, manganese ore, mica, magnesite, thorium, titanium etc. in the raw state, we are really sending out the chances of employing our own people in reducing these into various usable products. And to that extent we are doing a disservice to the generations yet unborn.

The commercial possibilities of trading in these ores for other articles must not tempt us into selling our birth-right for a mess of pottage. It may be that some sources may be inexhaustible humanely speaking, but still as these represent the

rights of our future generations we have to deal with them with a full sense of responsibility. Our foreign trade, as far as possible, must be limited to finished products and should not include convertible raw materials.

We hope that this conference, which will consider the country's potentialities and policies which should govern the utilisation of mineral resources, will give full weight to these considerations.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
January, 1947.

EX7

CHAPTER VII

The Cow Economy

There is a good deal of talk today about protecting the cow from the slaughter house. It is good that people are becoming conscious of the great evil that indiscriminate slaughter of cattle has brought to our country. On the purely short-sighted view the need for milk in a vegetarian country being important, gives a premier place to the cow as a feeder of the nation. Apart from that it also provides the bullock which is the motive power with which the farmer produces from the land. The importance of this aspect of the question has been fully realised in conferring divinity on the cow and raising cow slaughter to the level of a religious question. However, because of fanaticism, the very same zeal on the one side has created cussedness on the other side and we often find conflict between different sections of the population centred around cow slaughter. Therefore it now becomes necessary to ascertain exactly the place of the cow in India and give it a national approach.

With an artisan the tool that he uses becomes almost an object of worship. In fact, in India we have a definite festival "Sastra Pooja" devoted to this ceremony. Man recognises his economic dependence on the means of production. Just as an artisan depends on his tools, similarly the farmer depends on the cow and if we may extend the economic sphere, we may say the cow, being the means of producing food, becomes the centre of the economic organization of man, especially in an agricultural country like India.

Apart from this aspect, when we look upon the cow as the producer of the bullock, the importance of the cow is enhanced. She now represents the centre of our economy. We may call our economic organization, where the cow contributed towards motive power, transport, food production, etc. as a "cow-centred economy" in the same manner as England and other European countries were, not long ago, horse-centred economies.

During the last century England drifted from being a horse-centred economy into a coal-centred economy and from

being a coal-centred economy she is fast moving into an oil-centred economy. These stages are very important to notice as the fate of the world itself depends on the source from which we obtain our power.

In the cow and the horse-centred economies we have unlimited sources as we could breed as many bullocks and horses as we needed and, therefore, there being no restriction on the amount available, it does not arouse anybody's greed or jealousy; but coal and petrol being limited in their supply and quantity, uses of such sources of power lead to friction amongst nations as the source dries up. It is now well recognised that these global wars are in no small measure due to different nations seeking to get control over oil fields. Hence the coal and oil economies lead to conflict amongst nations. Unlike these two, the cow and horse economies are, comparatively, peaceful economies. Therefore, in a wider sense we may say that when we break through a cow-centred economy we are really causing cow slaughter, i. e. in other words when our actions are inimical to the existence of the cow-centred economy, we are not in the company of the protectors of the cow. For example, when we use coal and oil as our source of motive power we are really banning the cow from our economy. When we are making asphalted roads, which are not in the interest of animal traction, we are also guilty of breaking through the cow-centred organization. This aspect of the question is much more vital to us than the mere slaughter of the four legged and two horned animal.

We wonder how many of our friends who stand up against cow slaughter can show their hands clean of bovine blood from the higher interpretation of cow protection. The "Cow", like Khadi, is symbolic of a way of life. "Cow Slaughter", therefore, would signify making impossible that way of life. We hope that those who stand for cow protection will realise the extensiveness of the cause which they stand for, and will whole-heartedly support this wider application of the principle.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
October, 1947.

CHAPTER VIII

Large Scale Industries and Human Development

We have been constantly pointing out that work is a medium of education. It is through work the man expresses himself and learns more about the environment and the science of what he is doing. When properly directed, work should be the main channel through which a human being develops to his full stature. It is from this principle that the Talimi Sangh is developing its technique of education through a craft.

It follows from this that if work is not given in a fully balanced form, the development of the worker also will become eccentric or lopsided. Evidence of this can be looked for in the countries where large scale industries have replaced handicrafts. The best illustration of such a state of affairs is to be found in the United States of America. In a volume of *Five Minute Biographies* by Dale Carnagie the following observation appears.

" There are more patients suffering from mental diseases in the hospitals of America than from all other diseases combined. One student out of every 16 at school there today wili spend part of his life in an insane asylum. If you are in 15 years of age, the chances are 1 out of 20 that you will be confined in an institution for the mentally ill for 7 years of your life. During the last decade, mental diseases have almost doubled. If this appalling rate of increase continues for another century, half the entire population will be in the insane asylum and the other half will be outside trying to support them by taxes".

The truth of the above statement has been constantly vouched for by references to the state of affairs in the Health Magazines, etc. The only trouble is that the writers rarely seek for the causes.

We hope, therefore, that when India is to be reconstructed our planners will keep in mind the needs of the human being - body, mind and spirit — apart from the material needs of the animal man. Unless our plan is comprehensive of these various aspects of human development, our planning will be not only futile but derogatory to the progress of mankind.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
October, 1947.

CHAPTER IX

The Neo-Sermon on the Mount

Jesus in his simplicity and ignorance of world affairs taught us in bygone days to love our enemies and to do good to them that hate us. "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also" said the carpenter's son. But then He had not the advantage of studying modern diplomacy at the feet of His Grace Dr. Cyril Garbett, the Arch-Bishop of York.

This second custodian of the soul of the Church of England, making his presidential address to the Convocation of York, devoted much time to define the duties of a Christian. He said, "The Christian should support the United Nations as an attempt to limit national sovereignty. Unless the veto is restricted the United Nations will fail, as the League of Nations had failed to preserve peace.

"The Christian must press strongly for the outlawry of the Atomic Bomb. Its use in war may result in the end of our civilisation and reversion of those who survive to primitive conditions of existence.

"In an armed world, the democratic State must also be armed. Weakness and timidity encourage an aggressor, while protests and arguments excite his contempt unless behind them there stands the resolution of an armed people ready to fight, suffer and die, rather than passively submit to the murder of their nation and the enslavement of its citizens.

"In supporting the Government in taking all necessary precautions against attack, we shall do so without hatred for any nation."

The last sentence is a master stroke to reconcile the "turning the left cheek" philosophy with the Atom Bomb diplomacy. Hiroshima experience tells us what to expect from this doctrine. Let us pray in sackcloth and ashes "Lead us not into temptations but deliver us from evil". May god also save us from such leadership.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
November, 1948.

CHAPTER X

His Majesty's Opposition

As the waters of a river are kept in their course by its banks so also the Government of a country has to be directed by forces which lie outside the official sector of the Government. Great Britian prides itself on possessing the "Mother of Parliament". The method prevailing there is to maintain at Government cost "His Majesty's Opposition" to keep the Ministers within bounds by directing the flood-light of public criticism, on the steps taken or proposed to be taken by the Government. British Parliament is a veritable arena where many a mortal combat between political knights take place. The discomfitted knight yields place to the victor. The occupants of the opposition benches today may be the proud occupants of the Treasury Benches tomorrow according to the fortunes of Parliamentary Debate. This is the function of the opposition in the British Parliamentary System. It is an outcome of the competitive economy projected into the political sphere.

The composition of the cabinet itself reflects the structure of Imperialism in the economic field. Centralised industries need to gather the raw materials from the four corners of the world and send back their finished products to markets in the uttermost parts of the globe. This necessitates wide-spread use of money and transport and control of political power. To achieve this Foreign Affairs, Finance and Army, Navy and Air Force become essentials. Hence these have secured coveted status in the British Cabinet.

Both competition and Imperialism have their roots in violence.

Our country has taken up the reins of Government. If we desire to pursue non-violence, what shall be the form of our Government? Our Government also will need a corrective force to perform the functions of an "Opposition". But we want an economy based on co-operation and not one of competition. The "Opposition" members in our economy will not be looking forward

to occupying the treasury benches one day, should the fortunes of debate go against those in the saddle at the time. Personal ambition can have no place in an economy of non-violence and co-operation. What we should aim at is not to replace the Ministers, but to hold up models that they should follow. The constructive workers should direct them into proper channels by the beacon light of their example. This is a great responsibility that would devolve upon the constructive workers in a non-violent economy.

A well organised body of constructive workers will be needed to provide this directive force. Their service to the people will be their sanction and the merit of their work will be their charter. The Ministers will draw their inspiration from such a body which will advise and guide the secular Government. To be able to discharge this function the constructive workers forming such a body will have to be drawn from men of renunciation, whose one aim and ambition is the service of the people.

In such a political make-up the Cabinet will handle portfolios that will be essential to an economy of self-sufficiency. The major portfolios will be Agriculture, Land-Development — antierosion, reclamation, fertilisation — Irrigation, River Controls, Forests, Village and Cottage Industries, Minerals and Heavy Industries, Health, Education and Home Affairs. It is not imperative in such a set-up to give Foreign Affairs, Finance and Defence cabinet rank, however important these departments may be.

In a political structure of this nature the body of constructive workers will form the bulwark of safety for the people against exploitation. A Government run on this basis will give the needed emphasis to the affairs of the people and ensure their welfare, bringing in Swaraj to the masses.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
February, 1948.

PART II

CHAPTER I

Standards of Living

With post-war reconstruction plans in the air one constantly comes across the slogan "the standard of living has to be raised". It is difficult even to understand what people mean when they talk of a standard of living. It is a delightfully vague term. Hence it becomes convenient to bandy these words about without fear of committing oneself to anything definite. Each person may have his own notion of a standard of living and as to what it comprises. To one a radio set and a motor-car may fall within the barest minimum. To another two meals a day may be a rare luxury. Therefore, it is necessary to work out an objective standard taking into consideration the conditions obtaining in our land. Should this standard have an economic basis or follow cultural considerations or social needs ? What is meant by "high" or "low" standards ? By the former is it meant the full satisfaction of wide range of material wants ? And by the latter a very limited enjoyment of worldly goods ?

The standard of life in England is generally spoken of as being high. There a gardener may live in a two storeyed cottage with three or four bedrooms upstairs with a flush lavatory and a bathroom. Downstairs there may be a living room and a dining room along with a kitchen, store and washroom attached. All windows will have glass shutters sheltered by curtains and blinds. The doors will have heavy curtains to keep out the draught. The floors will be carpeted and the walls well papered. Every room will have its appropriate and adequate furniture though simple and inexpensive. For instance, the dining room will have a dining table with proper armless chairs, a sideboard, perhaps fitted with a mirror, with a requisite supply of table linen, crockery, cutlery etc. The table service itself, though not very elaborate, will furnish appropriate dishes, plates, forks, spoons etc., for the various courses such as soup, fish, meat, sweet and dessert. For, it is not the proper thing to eat one course with the equipment for another. Knife and fork for fish is of one kind, knife and fork for meat is of another, while the service sets are still different. When one person sits down to a meal there will be at least about 50 pieces to wash up. Such is generally accepted as a "High" standard of living.

In India, a really cultured man, perhaps a Dewan or a Prime Minister of a State, presiding over the destinies of millions of people, may have hardly any furniture in his house though it may be of palatial dimensions. His reception rooms may have floors of marble, mosaic or polished tiles and will be washable and clean. There may be hardly any carpets to accumulate dust and dirt. The Dewan himself will go about barefooted at home as the best of persons do in the South. Our Dewan may squat on an *asan* on the floor and eat, perhaps off a plantain leaf. He may not have been initiated into the art of weilding knives and forks, for it is an art not easily acquired, following sacred rules not meant for the common folk. He may use his nature-bestowed fingers and when he has finished his repast, the leaf will not have to be washed but may be thrown away and may be readily disposed off by a goat which will turn it into milk for its owner. There will be only his fingers to be washed. By contrast this will be termed a "Low" standard of living.

Is this an appropriate use of terms "High" and "Low"? If the standard or norm must contain a multiplicity of material wants artificially created then only these terms will have any significance. But if we choose to be perverse and regard as desirable that which calls into play the highest faculties in man, then the Dewan's life follows a higher standard than the British gardener's whose standard now becomes "Low". For a standard based on material considerations the more suitable terms will be "Complex" and "Simple" rather than "High" and "Low". We may then say that the Dewan's standard of life is "High" but "Simple" and the British gardener's is "Low" but "Complex". It would appear as though the present terms have been specially devised to convey a psychological preference for the "Complex" standard which is the foundation of a good market for manufacturers. Who will rationally fall for a standard which is dubbed "Complex"?

The complex standard converts its devotee into a drudge. From dawn till nightfall the British gardener's wife, if she means to be reasonably clean, has to toil away at sweeping the carpets with a vacuum cleaner, polish the window panes, wash the curtains, bed and table linen, the dishes, plates etc. and cooking utensils, apart from her daily round of duties such as shopping and kitchen

work. To clean even one fork properly between the prongs will take more time and labour than washing one's hands. Is it any wonder that where such complex standards prevail women prefer to be rid of the "nuisance" of having children? "Children and dogs not allowed" is an ubiquitous notice-board to be seen everywhere in such countries. Motherhood, of course, adds to the already overcrowded time-table for the day, but the choice of a complex standard is a reflection on the scale of values prevalent. By various means at their disposal—propaganda, advertisements, setting up fashions etc.—the manufacturers are able to induce the housewives to adopt this mode of life and become their devoted customers. Let us beware of such traps which will enslave us to material wants but offer nothing in exchange for filling our time with wasteful details which ought not to be allowed to encumber our lives.

The interested parties glibly talk of creating leisure for the housewife by introducing labour saving devices, but no sooner is a machine allowed to oust human labour than some other invention is brought in to absorb the money and time saved by the former device leaving the second state of the housewife worse than the first.

For example, let us revert to our friend, the British gardener's wife. Formerly carpets were beaten and cleaned by casual human labour. The vacuum cleaner made its appearance. It dispensed with outside labour. A travelling salesman would have visited the gardener's wife and waxed eloquent over the marvellous performance of his commodity for sale—the vacuum cleaner, and would have appealed to the thrifty housewife by showing her how much she could save every year by not having to call in human labour to do this heavy work of carpet cleaning and how much such saving will amount to in her life-time with interest added. As a result of this high pressure salesmanship she would go in for a vacuum cleaner and would, no doubt, save a few shillings a year but she has to do the cleaning herself with this "labour saving device". After a few years, when she has saved a few pounds this way, the travelling salesman will make his appearance again to sell her a newly invented dish washing machine. He will again expatiate over the performance of the machine. If her savings scraped together happen to fall short of the amount needed to pay down cash for it

the salesman obligingly will offer an instalment payment scheme or a hire purchase system by which she pays a small deposit immediately—all that she may have in ready cash—and the machine is left with her for use, for which she should have to pay a small hire annually for five or seven years, after which the whole machine will become her sole property. She falls a victim to this temptation and pledging her future savings installs a dish washing machine. She can now dispense with the services of the neighbour—an old woman perhaps, who came in to help wash the dishes for half an hour daily thus perhaps saving two shillings a week, but she has now to attend to the machine herself. If the vacuum cleaner or this dish washing machine needs attention the company will send its visiting mechanic to set it right and, of course, making a small charge for his time. In this manner both the labour and the money saved by dispensing with human labour is quickly absorbed by the manufacturers while the simple gardener's wife sloggers on like a donkey having displaced the help of other human being. She has to put in extra work attending on those—her mechanical servants. The leisure promised to her proves illusory and whatever she saves goes towards the purchase of some other "labour saving device". She is no better off in the end. If anything she has to work harder, all by herself driving her machines. The human labour that has been driven out of employment here will ultimately turn up at the factory gates of the manufacturers for work and wages. The story of these we shall trace later.

Has the standard of living of the gardener's wife changed so as to allow her opportunities for the free play of her higher faculties? Has this complex standard given her more time for thought and reflection? On the other hand, as she has to attend to everything singlehanded she may have no time even to look into a magazine. She drudges from morn till night. All this for what? Her time is filled up with work that brings little of real life. Is this "living" in the proper sense of the word? It is worse than mere existence.

The simple life, on the other hand, can be "high" and present all that is finest in human life, perhaps even better than a complex life which latter kills personality as it follows ways set by others.

Taking the occasion of dining, whether the meal is taken in Western style or in the Indian style there is little difference nutritively. The Indian method of eating has advantages of cheapness combined with cleanliness and affords free scope for one's ideas of art in serving. What is more colourful than a meal served on a green fresh leaf ? The cream rice or chapatties with yellow dhal, white dahi, red chutneys, brown pickles, multicoloured salad of fresh vegetables, red tomatoes etc., make a pleasing sight to start with; when the meal is over and the leaves have been removed only the floor remains to be washed out. Wherein lies the superiority or higher quality of the most complicated Western style ? The complex manner of life increases expense without any corresponding benefit in cleanliness or art. Therefore as has been already observed, the distinction is more accurately made by calling the Western method "Complex" and ours "Simple" rather than "High" and "Low" respectively.

Within a definite mode of living there can be "high" and "low" standards indicating differing qualities. A man who uses fine counts for his dhoties has "higher" standard than one who is content with coarser cloth; while one who uses suits cut and tailored in western style with collar, tie and perhaps a hat cannot be, for that reason, said to have a higher standard than one who uses just a dhoti and kurta. The hatwallah certainly has an imitation complex standard while the dhotiwallah is perhaps more original in having his dhoti designed and woven to his taste locally and definitely more sensible in this climate. Similarly, one who eats plain rice with chillies or pickles has a "low" standard in comparison with one who enjoys a well balanced diet.

In our country, where most people live below the subsistence level, where our production of cereals and other food products are far below what is needed to provide the nation with an adequate diet, "raising the standard of living" must only mean, for a long time yet, providing the necessities.

So the planners, who talk of industrialization for the production of a multiplicity of material goods to bring about a "high standard of living", are working at plans that will divert production from necessities to luxuries and so are doing a great disservice to the country.

The Orient Illustrated Weekly, 1946.

CHAPTER II.

Consumer's Duty

Our national culture and tradition enjoin the spender to so direct his purchases as to advance the well being of art, literature and craftsmanship. In the ancient days, no doubt the princes and wealthy men spent freely and lavishly but their extravagance did not impoverish the country as they helped in the wide distribution of wealth. Their palaces were built of skilled labour with bricks or locally available stones. The internal decorations were carried out by artists of repute. The members of the family were clothed in the best of fabrics the local artisans could devise. Everything was made to specifications. Such furniture as they had was beautifully carved with special designs. The pictures on the walls and the mural paintings and frescoes were works of art executed by renowned artists. They used conveyances built by local carriage builders out of materials at hand, fashioned to suit individual taste. All their food material, however rich, was of local production. Every rich man's establishment was the source of a spring of life for many an artisan and was the centre of culture.

To-day the position is very different. One who steps into a wealthy man's house in Bombay will find the house itself would be built of cement concrete of a standard pattern, equipped with cheap laminated wood furniture made of veneers and ply-wood tables mounted with plate glass tops. His bath rooms will be fitted with sanitary equipment imported from London. He will be using an American or British car run on imported petrol. He may be using fashionable silks from Belgium or Paris for clothes and curtains. The pictures on the walls will be cheap lithograph prints of paintings in the Louver of Paris or the Picture Galleries of London. Even his table will be laden with imported food-stuffs like corn flakes, quaker oats, shreaded wheat etc. from the U.S.A., jams and preserves from Australia, fruits from California, and so on. Very little of his budget will be spent on things that are made locally. Such methods of living help the foreigner more than our country. If the spender receives his income from the people of the land and spends it in the above manner he impoverishes the country and is a veritable parasite.

Unfortunately this type of spending is on the increase what with the philosophy of indulgence preached by the interested foreigner who sets the fashions in acquiring a multiplicity of wants and supplies such wants.

Even where a certain amount of patriotism has permeated through and awakened the consumer to patronise Swadeshi production such Swadeshi articles are invariably cheap mill manufactures. Erecting these mills and buying machinery for these lead to sending our wealth abroad. Then when consumers buy goods made by these Indian mills, the profits etc. go to that class of mill-owners whose personal expenditures we have described above and which is only a canal that leads out the wealth of our country again to the foreigner through consumption goods. In this manner we are impoverishing the country even when we buy Swadeshi mill goods.

The only way to increase the wealth of the country is to use articles locally made by cottagers and villagers who use little or no machinery. This will help to distribute wealth amongst the masses and incidentally the foreigners will be given no incentive to stay in our country and will naturally quit India without any use of violence to expel them. So by a careful and discriminate buying, consumers can help to bring Swaraj but it calls for considerable amount of self-discipline and self-control. Shall we rise to the occasion or be for ever under the foreign yoke?

Gram Udyog Patrika,
April, 1946.

CHAPTER III

Implementing "Quit India"

Year after year we celebrate the National Week. This signifies an undying urge in the people to be independent, politically, of the British. Does political independence come for the asking from above as a gift? If we want to attain our goal we should remove the cause of our dependence.

Why is Britain anxious to have a political hold on India? It is almost purely for economic reasons. Britain has only coal, iron, tin etc. to fall back on. She cannot exist on these. She has to convert these into exchangeable commodities and get from abroad in return food articles and other primary products including raw materials for her factories. If she can hold India in subjection she can obtain what she needs and dispose of her manufactures on favourable conditions. If this is the secret of Britain's stranglehold on India the remedy is simple and lies in the hands of the weakest of us. When we buy British goods we are actively co-operating in the maintenance of the British Empire. When we send raw materials outside our country, in addition to strengthening British Imperialism we are also impoverishing our own people by exporting the opportunities of employment of our people. In these two ways we are contributing directly to British exploitation. We thus become parties to our own slavery.

Export trade in raw materials and import of manufactured consumers' articles, especially of the nature of things that satisfy primary needs, attracts the cupidity of foreigners besides the British. Jealousies and rivalries amongst them lead to international wars. Hence when we become parties to this type of trade we are morally responsible for all the violence that follows in the wake of such economic transaction.

If vultures are attracted by a carcase the simplest way of driving them out is to bury the cause. Merely trying to chase them away with a stick will not be effective. This foreign trade is the carcase and if we want independence and international peace we must get rid of this cause of conflict. Every buyer of

foreign manufacture and every exporter of raw materials can, if he or she possesses the needed self-control and self-discipline, refrain from this part in the trade that is at the bottom of all our trouble and help in the great task of establishing Swaraj in our country and amity among the nations of the world.

During this national week let us resolve that we shall have no part or parcel in this foreign trade, not as a political boycott programme, but as a symbol of our unwillingness to be parties to international bloodshed and our own slavery, to withdraw our personal contribution to the existence of the British Empire and the gory competition among the nations for supremacy amongst them for the exploitation of the weaker nations. This is the only effective way of implementing the demand "Quit India".

Gram Udyog Patrika,
April, 1946.

CHAPTER IV

Race Horses & White Elephants

Days were when horses were the backbone of the economic activity of Great Britain. At that time improvement in the breed was in the interests of the masses. Racing as the sport of kings was directly related to the well being of the people. Now racing is the sport of gamblers and wastrels. The newspapers state that the Maharaja of Baroda is spending fortunes on race horses and that in England! Is there no remedy to stop this crime?

In our country, dutiful potentates, like Tippu Sultan, had taken as their hobby cattle-breeding. Even today the Mysore cattle owe their superiority to Tippu's munificence. The one absorbing interest of the present Maharaja of Morvi is his cattle farm.

Now that power is vested in popular governments, is it too much to hope that turf clubs will be made illegal and the race courses maintained at tremendous cost will be ploughed up to yield food to the people, while cattle-breeding will be given its due share of attention?

People have been breathlessly waiting to know how the popular governments are going to solve the problems in regard to food, clothing, housing, education and medical aid. While these Ministers are slowly getting into the saddle, the vested interests are forestalling them by bringing into existence all kinds of white elephants injurious to the welfare of the masses.

It is announced that ten and a half crores are being spent on establishing a fertilizer factory at Sindhri in Bihar. For this crores worth of plant is being imported from abroad.

With the blessings of some of the Provincial Governments again crores worth of tractors are being imported.

With the support of the Provincial Governments, Textile Mills, Vanaspati Ghee Factories, Sugar Mills, etc. are shooting up like mush-rooms. It is not a sufficient reply to say that the

granting of licences to start certain of these factories was agreed to by the predecessors — the Adviser Regime. It would be up to the popular Governments to reopen the question. What efforts have been made to do so? On the other hand we find popular ministers performing the opening ceremony of these Mills. Are these not straws that indicate the direction of the wind? Is it not time that the policies of popular ministries were laid down definitely so that we may know the worst if that be in store for us? If the ministers are not clear in their own minds as to the social philosophy they are supposed to represent, it will be fair to themselves and to the people to lay down the reins of office. It is no use flirting with rural reconstruction in spare moments and being joined together in an unholy wedlock with exploiters who will not hesitate to ruin the countryside to gain a little profit for their miserable selves.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
October, 1946.

CHAPTER V

Sponging on the Voiceless Millions

Now that popular governments are again assuming responsibility it has become necessary to formulate the policy that should govern their actions. The order of the day has been to make the comfortable people of the cities still more comfortable. Government at present is city-centred.

Everywhere in Delhi you find the boards "No bullock carts allowed". Who paid for these roads on which bullock carts are not allowed? These are built, not out of moneys contributed by the motorists but out of taxes that the poor people pay — the very people who are not allowed to use these roads.

Are such expensively built roads necessary? The motorist needs them to save his tyre and petrol bill as well as to reduce the wear and tear on the car. They are essential to keep down the dust that the motorist raises. Such even-surfaced roads enable the motorists to speed along comfortably. Hence, they are made necessary for the motorist. Therefore the motorists should be called upon to foot the bill for such roads.

Do animal driven carts require such roads? No. The animals slip and fall, besides, they are hard on the hoofs of unshod bullocks, as most cart animals are. Therefore, no contribution from non-motorists is called for. Even should such roads be built solely out of funds contributed by the motorists the general public is entitled to the free use of them.

Hence it follows that all roads needed by motorists must be paid for by the class that needs them. They should not be allowed to use roads other than their own. Charging these special benefits to general revenue is in effect shifting the incidence of taxation from the motorist, who is of the wealthiest section of the public, to the masses who are financially much weaker. If this policy is given effect to every motorist will be a self-respecting person. But not so now when crores are being spent on roads for the motorists benefit, neglecting the health and education of those who really bear the cost of this expensive luxury, at least in our country.

Such is the case in most activities of the Government. Even the so-called scientific bodies, like the Imperial Council of Agriculture, are but adjuncts to commercial concerns. They spend bulk of their money, energy and talents in researching on cotton, sugarcane, etc. for the mills and on encouraging the growth of tobacco etc. for the Imperial Tobacco Company. Apart from these even the Agricultural Colleges train men for such jobs as can be given by mills etc. and not to enable young men to cultivate their own lands as independent farmers. It may even be said that these Colleges wean men away from village life. Again all this is done out of revenues collected from the masses. If the mill owners etc. were honest the expenses of the whole of this Department should be borne out of contributions made by Textile mills, Sugar mills, Imperial Tobacco Co. etc. They prefer to sponge on the poor instead.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research is also directing its activities similarly in investigating problems the solution of which will be helpful to industrial and commercial magnates. They are now taking out patents on their findings on the reduction of Nitro-compounds for cotton colours etc. which benefit the textile mills.

We may understand a small percentage of work of these bodies overflowing into such activities while the core of their programme is mainly concerned with researches that will put life into the various industries on which millions depend for their livelihood. The irony of it is they do not, even by mistake, look at the problems of village industries. The scientists on the staff of these bodies have been told in season and out of season that these simple industries have been out moded and that is enough for these men to leave them alone.

A popular ministry will have to scrap these departments or turn them over to the mills or alternately insist that they should launch on problems referred and sanctioned by the Village Industries Ministry or Department.

We find rich Municipalities using their great influence with the Government to obtain grants for their work. Where from

does the Government get the money to make grants? Not from Great Britain but from the masses, out of funds which should have been spent on their needs.

Public expenditures will have to be conscientiously scrutinised to see that no pie coming from the poor is spent by government in such a way as to exclusively serve the interests of the rich and that every item of expenditure that benefits the rich comes out of adequate contributions made by that class. If this policy is strictly followed it will soon be apparent to what extent the better off classes have been sponging on the voiceless millions as the former will find that they can no longer live as comfortably as they have done so far. If the methods of the present Government of India are continued by the popular ministries, even if the Britishers Quit India to a man yet poverty will inevitably increase. One class cannot ride on the shoulders of another class in a free country.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
May, 1946.

CHAPTER VI

Travel or Transport?

As days go on it seems travelling by air is becoming more and more common amongst at least the rich. All manner of means are being used to popularize and extend this service. Hence it becomes necessary for us to study the place of Air Travel in society.

The phrase 'a much travelled man' connotes generally the significance of travelling. We expect such a person to have come in contact with all sorts and conditions of men and things and therefore, through his intelligent approach to other people's lives, we expect such a person to be broad-minded, well-informed and cultured. Travelling, therefore, has various advantages attached to it. In ancient time, the pilgrimages in India were based on such cultural aspect of travel, though they were given a religious colouring.

A traveller at different stages comes in contact with different types of men. He enters into conversation with them, finds out what they are thinking, what their customs and traditions are and compares them with the conditions prevailing at home. This ultimately leads to cultural development. We encourage, therefore, our children to read books of travel which means educating them and giving them information in regard to our fellowmen. If we look upon travel from this point of view, the phrase "Air Travel" is a misnomer. All that air travel stands for today is pure and simple transport. A person is at one place at one moment and availing himself of the air service he is at another place the next moment. A passenger may be at Karachi early morning and in London the same day late at night, with nothing added to him either in the form of information, culture and contacts. This is just as much simple transport as in the case of merchandise, say a bale of cotton!

It may be argued that time is thereby saved. Does this mean that man's life has been added to? No, it only means that the man has transferred to himself another slice of his life to spend it on his own business from spending it on cultural pursuit. When we send a boy of school-going age, to look after herds in

the jungle, are we saving time? We are depriving the boy of his share of culture. Life does not consist in spending our time all the time in our own business. Man has to expand himself and come into contact with fellowmen as long as he wishes to remain a social being. Air transport, therefore, reduces a man from being a social being into a mere individual. It enlarges, you may say, self-centredness. Time saved therefore, signifies transference of time from cultural pursuits to self-centred occupations. This can hardly be looked upon as an advantage when we take life to mean the richness in which it is lived in the cultural sense and not in the material sense. To put it in another way, one may say that it elongates the animal life and shortens the human aspect of it. This is the basis of solitary confinement. While travelling by air, the deafening noise of the propellers and the limited accommodation make it almost impossible to carry on any conversation with the fellow passengers.

It is equivalent to the person being asked to sit in a chair in a drawing room with all the windows shut, continuously for the duration of the voyage. However comfortable the chair may be, the boredom becomes unbearable. One cannot look around because not only is the window space limited, but also nothing can be seen with the naked eye. The long distance planes travel 15 to 18 thousand feet above the ground. That means you can see objects at a distance of about three miles. Very often, therefore, one sees a misty blue below and a deep blue above and rarely can one recognize trees or even buildings excepting at the approach of landing places. With the mind shut and the eyes dim and the ears deafened, the traveller sits for hours together, night or day, and leaves the plane with an aching back, glad that his destination has been reached. This is "modern travel"!

As regards food, packets of victuals are provided at the meal hours. As yet India has not received recognition in the catering line. Whether the person is a vegetarian or not the packets are filled with cold non-vegetarian food. It is with much difficulty that one could procure an additional slice of bread and butter to meet one's needs. (It may be here suggested that it should be required of our Air Lines, calling at Indian air-ports, to cater for pure vegetarians also.)

One of the pleasures in fast travels, such as by motor-car on the road or by train on the rails, is a sense of speed that man seems to crave for. The mere worm of man, dashing through the air at 40, 50 or 60 miles per hour, gets an exhilaration of doing that which he cannot physically perform. Even this joy is denied in air travel. Being so high up, even though the plane may be going at 300 miles per hour, one just sees the ground underneath passing away like gentle, idle clouds at a snail-slow speed. Hence even this human desire for quick motion remains unsatisfied.

If we look at the technical part of this mode of travel, we notice that it consumes tremendous quantities of petroleum. This fuel is in limited supply, as it is taken out from the bowels of the earth from various parts of the world. As the stock gets less and less, the consumers' desire to obtain control over other reservoirs becomes greater and greater. This ultimately leads to greed, jealousy, hatred and suspicion, culminating in global wars. Therefore, an undue increase in this method of travel conduces towards developing unhealthy relationship with our neighbours.

All this does not mean that there should be no air travel at all, but it only indicates its shortcomings and warns us that we should use it with the utmost caution. The so-called time saving is not in itself sufficient compensation to make up for the various disadvantages connected with it. The more accurate way of calling it, as we have suggested, would be "air transport", and that would propably convey what it stands for more accurately. In these days, what man needs most is relaxation. Air transport adds to the pressure on life.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
November, 1947.

CHAPTER VII

"Khadi" in Our Life

For nearly three decades Gandhiji has been preaching "Khadi". Thousands of our national workers have taken to wearing handspun and handwoven cloth as a result. But few of them realise the full implications of this symbolic apparel. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his oratorical flourishes has called "Khadi" the "Livery of Freedom". Others have looked upon the wearing of "Khadi" as a matter of discipline. But how many have realised that "Khadi" is the way of life which aims to bring our practical everyday relationship, between our fellowmen to conform to the ideals of non-violence and truth, which is the basis of this programme?

"Khadi" is not merely the wearing of handspun and handwoven cloth. "Khadi" stands for an economic organization based on self-sufficiency and co-operation wherein production takes place for use or consumption and not for exchange. This is in contrast with the present economic order which is based on competitive production for exchange. The rules and regulations as well as the principles which govern our action under co-operation greatly differ from those which regulate competitive life. The competitive order, when pushed to its logical end, brings us to the jungle law of the survival of the fittest and let the weakest go to the wall. But, under co-operation, if anything, the weak get greater care and consideration; and the satisfaction of our primary needs are given priority over production for exchange purposes. Trade takes place only on surplus goods and not on those which supply the needs of our existence. Co-operation ultimately leads us to achieve goodwill and peace in society, while competition spells hatred, jealousy and strife.

Hence, if we appreciate the introduction of "Khadi" into our life, the idea should be broad-based so as to include all goods produced by our own efforts for our own consumption. In such an order importation or buying of articles produced by organizations within the competitive realm of production would be avoided and encouragement of production by mutual co-operation and understanding should be the order of the day.

The adherence of our Congress Workers and the public minded to Khadi, therefore will support Village Industries and will not be guided by purely money considerations and prices. The price mechanism is distinctively a device of the competitive economy. "Will an article pay" is a rule of law which will not be allowed to guide the Khadi minded.

In a household, when the mother prepares food for her child, her consideration is not based on money values. She puts in her labour of love as a matter of course and delights in their service as a member of the family, not as an imposed duty but as a function or a part of her life. She has her being in the happiness of her child. She gets her satisfaction in attending to the needs of those who are helpless.

The guiding factors in a social order governed by the ideals of Khadi are our cultural tradition, the equitable distribution of goods and such other considerations which bring us into close relationship with our fellowmen. These will be determined by the existing needs and not by the ideas of creating and accumulating wealth. If there is land available, it will be first utilized for production of the food needed by the community and not for growing tobacco, long-staple cotton and such other raw materials for mills which may bring in more money. When land is diverted from food to raw materials by the consideration of the return the owner gets, Society will suffer from the maladjustment of its economic organization.

The message of Khadi, therefore, includes bringing enough food into existance which will supply all our needs by our own efforts, looking after those in need of help and bringing about human relationship based on non-violence and truth, not only amongst our immediate neighbours but also in our relation with our neighbouring Nations.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
June, 1947.

PART III

CHAPTER I

The Wind and the Whirl Wind

What is called progress and civilization to-day is a Marathon race where the laurels are for the most devilish. When in the opening years of this century, the Japanese defeated the Russians, the former was hailed as a world Power. When France could not out bid the violence of Germany she lost her status as a power. The criterion is the achievement to perfection of savagery and barbarism. The latest distinction on this unenviable career has been attained by the users of the abomination of desolation—the Atomic Bomb. We do not grudge America or Great Britain their claim to such hellish greatness, for we know as certainly as the night follows day, these demons of to-day, will in their turn, perish by the sword. But this is not what needs detain us. These are only passing phases. The history of Great Britain is but as a grain of sand on the shores of time.

Why is it that all science runs a-whoring after violence and destruction? Is humanity on a downward grade? Is violence becoming our purpose in life? What are the causes that make violence dominate the life of the world to-day? These are some of the questions that should rack our brains.

If we probe deep enough we shall find that the development of the higher nature of man—character and personality—is not keeping pace with the advance made by his mental faculty. A spirited horse has to be held in by bit and bridle. We cannot afford to give loose reins. Man's self-control is being lost relative to the advancement made by science. Science is good but when it outstrips man's character and upsets the poise, it makes a slave of man and generates violence. Then what is the remedy if we are not to sow the wind and reap the whirlwind?

There is a time lag between the development of human personality and the advancement of mental faculties. The former is a slow process as all things with a permanent value tend to be. We cannot hand a child an open flaming torch. The child will be in danger of setting itself on fire. Fire is good. It has lighted the way of human progress. But it is out of place in the hands of

an immature person. When the situation points to a tragedy it is time for us to call a halt. Science is good. But we seem to have reached a stage where we need to bivouac awhile to take stock of the situation and pull ourselves together if we are determined not to let circumstances run away with our lives. Have we the strength to do it? Or will humanity roll headlong downhill gathering irresistible momentum and dash itself to pieces against the rocks ahead?

This question is not an international one only. It arises in our everyday life in various forms. In the final analysis the question machine *Vs.* human labour in our country is of the same origin. As things are, mechanical advancement has gone so far ahead of the development of human personality that man is becoming a greater and greater slave to the machine and he is in imminent danger of losing himself. When people say that we of the non-violent school are against machinery they are uttering a truth in a relative setting. Machines are good, but if we have not developed sufficient control over ourselves they will lead us into the paths of violence into destruction. All this feverish planning for rapid industrialization as a post-war reconstruction based on capital goods imported from abroad is sure to lead us along the way all industrialized countries have gone—on the high road of violence, imperialism and destruction. Discretion dictates caution. Shall we heed it? Or shall we in our pride of achievement head for a fall?

Gram Udyog Patrika,
September, 1945.

CHAPTER II

Village Industries and the Fight for Freedom

We generally associate the fight for Independence with the political programme, but a little thought will show the closer relationship between the existence of hefty, self-sufficient village industries and independence.

The foreigners are dominating over us not for any political gain but for economic benefits to themselves. By holding down our country they are able to control the export of raw materials to their mills as and when they want it, process them there and bring them back again to be sold in our markets under favourable conditions. In so far as we co-operate with the foreigners in the export of raw materials we are parties to their staying in our country. Export of raw materials is equivalent to sending opportunities of employment outside the country. Consequently by helping in the export of raw materials we are contributing towards the creation of unemployment in our country. Thus we impoverish our country.

Hence if we really wish to be independent we must stop all exports of raw materials to foreign country. This will give employment to our own people and will destroy the incentive of the foreigner to come to our land.

Similarly, we co-operate in the slavery of our country when we buy foreign goods. As people were tempted to buy cheap Japanese goods the Japs started to come to our land so as to be able to exercise political control over us, so that the market for their products could be kept under their own control. Therefore if we desire to be independent we must cease using foreign made goods whether they be capital goods or commodities for consumption.

To attain true independence, therefore, we need to cultivate self-discipline and self-control as these powers over ourselves are essential to abstain from self-indulgence by purchasing foreign articles or to restrict our consumption to locally produced goods even if such action should entail certain amount of privation. We

cannot obtain true independence merely by shouting "Quit India" or "Quit Asia". Whether foreigners will quit our country or not depends largely on our actions. Hence to obtain independence we have to discipline ourselves and control our wants. Producing and wearing Khadi is a first step in this direction which should be followed by supplying all our requirements from cottage and village made articles. Are we prepared to do this? If we are then independence is knocking at our door. As all our requirements will be met locally there will be more employment for our people. We shall be processing all our raw materials into consumption goods by the application of labour that is now running waste. Any foreign trade we may have will be strictly limited to exchange of surplus products and should not relate to primary necessities.

A programme such as the one envisaged above will not present any attraction for foreign powers to invade our country and so we shall attain independence by eradicating the root cause of wars and foreign domination which is the way of non-violence. Hence the importance of village industries to attain and retain Swaraj for ourselves, and peace for the world.

Silver Jubilee Publication,
D. B. Hindi Prachar Sabha, 1946.

CHAPTER III

How can Britain Help?

This was the question posed by the Earl of Munster and Brigadier Low, members of the British Parliamentary Delegation.

A careful reading of the History of the British in India will show clearly that the Britishers are in India to help themselves and not to help India. This policy has been pursued consistently for the last two centuries not by accident but as a part of a predetermined deliberate plan. This policy cannot now be suddenly reversed in the twinkling of an eye. If there is a will to change the attitude, it must be supported by a strong co-ordinated national effort in Great Britain to change the very fundamentals of their culture and economic organization.

Since the days of Clive, right up to the present day, every instrument for a nation building programme, whether it be taxes and revenues of Government, or expenditures on public service, works or utilities, or borrowing on Government account, or even lending as in the case of the sterling balances, or laying out of communications like railways, roads, etc. every single item has been turned to good account for the use of Great Britain. All instruments are neither good nor bad in themselves. They are amoral. They derive their quality from the use man makes of them. There is no claim to any credit merely for having built Railways. The thing that attributes character to that act is the use that is made of the Railways. There are about 10,000 discriminating freight rates making it possible to export raw materials cheaply to Great Britain and to facilitate the import of British manufactures into the country. A knife is amoral. When it is used to cut fruit it is good, but when it is used to stab the neighbour it is bad. The Railways have been used by Great Britain not to pump streams of life-giving blood into the people of India but as a syringe to draw it out. Every instrument we have referred to above has been used in this fashion. Is it not a wonder that India has survived this terrible ordeal?

The reason for this attitude of Great Britain has to be analysed if there is a desire to change the policy. If we are honest

and delve deep enough we shall find the seeds of this exploitation in human nature. Man differs from the beast only in so far as he develops a sense of duty towards his fellow-men. In fact, it can be safely averred that the dawn of civilization is with the realization of one's duty towards one's neighbour; mere acquisition of knowledge or material possessions are not satisfactory criterions. An economic or social organization that is based purely on rights belongs to the animal kingdom and may well be termed "barbarism" rather than "civilization".

We may go further. When such an economic order is based on the necessity of injuring or ruining some one else it becomes parasitic, just as the life of a tiger is based on the death of the lamb it feeds on. Viewed thus all types of imperialisms are parasitic barbarism. In so far as the economic organization of Great Britain depends on the supply of raw materials from her colonies or dependencies which necessitatest he holding down politically, of other nations whose culture and civilization are ruined, the organization of Great Britan will fall under this category of "Parasitic Barbarism". Its civilization, if it can be called "civilization" without violence to that term, is based on a philosophy of rights, self-indulgence and a consequent multiplicity of wants. This ultimately requires violence to put it into practice. It does not require much reflection to arrive at the conclusion that a nation at this stage of evolution cannot help any other just as the tiger cannot help the lamb as long as its nature remains parasitic.

As against this, the ancient Hindu culture was based on "Dharma" or duty. Each man had his place in society assigned to him and he had to respect his neighbour's rights. Needless to say we have to-day fallen far from this state. However, the basic standard of values in life obtains even to-day. This civilization is based on a philosophy of duties, self-control, self-discipline and a consequent restriction of wants with little or no appeal to violence.

From this analysis it can be realized how easy it was for Great Britain to graft herself on India—a self-indulgent culture riding roughshod over a culture of restricted wants—as the tiger lives on the lamb. But this analogy ends here, because if the right

type of self-discipline is developed it will generate a power greater than violence. It is possible for Great Britain to exploit us only because of our willing co-operation. We are parties to our own slavery which the lamb is not. The lamb is helpless and offers no co-operation in its own destruction. If we refuse to supply raw materials for export or to use British goods ourselves, either in the production or consumption stage British Imperialism will end tomorrow. But such a refusal to co-operate in the economic exploitation of our country calls for tremendous will power and self-discipline on our part.

If Great Britain wishes to help us she has to move towards a duty based civilization, shed her philosophy of self-indulgence and multiplicity of wants and simplify her own life. Is she willing to take these drastic steps?

Gram Udyog Patrika,
April, 1946.

CHAPTER IV

A Share in the Booty

Nadir Shah invaded India for booty. This booty was in the form of hoards of precious metal, jewellery and gems. Such is not the booty our moderns look for. They want instruments of production, raw materials and markets. It was the search for such booty that brought in the global wars.

After the first world war the "conquerors" unburdened Germany of her colonies and claimed reparations to compensate for the loss caused by the wars.

Now again Germany has been "vanquished". The international vultures have foregathered where the carcase is. An assembly of delegates from the Principal Allied Countries have drafted a "Final Act and an Accord" to pool all German patents in Allied countries. India has also been dragged into this arrangement, by whom we do not know.

When we buy a stolen article knowing it to be such, we become morally responsible for the stealing that had preceded the transaction. India refrained from entering this war. Can we now ask for a share in the booty consequent on this war without assuming moral responsibility for the carnage?

Can we buy and bring into our country German plants taken over by the allies as "reparations"? There is a list of 51 German war plants, which are for sale, circulated among the Indian Chambers of Commerce. These are stained with injustice, cruelty, avarice and human blood. Are we prepared to take these on our hands? If we do, we become imperialists no less than the British or the Americans. If India stands for the freedom of all suppressed nations, Germany being one such to-day, our National Government should protest against such loot and ban such tainted property.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
February, 1947.

CHAPTER V

"The Inefficiency" of Village Industries

The mill-owners have made the people believe that village industries cannot stand competition from large scale industries as the former are "inefficient" while the latter are scientific and efficient. By constant repetition the public can be made to believe anything, but this type of propaganda has been carried on to such an extent that even economists are saturated with such baseless ideas.

The advantages afforded to mills are many and one may almost assert that they are subsidised by public expenditures. The village artisan hardly ever derives any benefit from the crores of rupees taken from him and spent lavishly by the Government. The expensive researches of scientific institutions are not for him. The trunk roads built at fabulous cost are not only of no use to him but even be injurious to his unshod bullocks—witness the mud tracks used by preference by bullock-carts by the side of macadamised and asphalted roads. The armed forces happily are conspicuous by their absence in villages though they are much in evidence in towns and cities, still these charges are met out of villagers production. The railway administration has no regard to the requirements of villagers unless it be to drain their raw material at harvest season and to bring finished products back to them at enhanced prices. All these handicaps placed on village industries are counted towards their inability to compete with the upstart parasitic mills.

To these old time disadvantages the new fangled controls have added in no small measure. The All India Village Industries Association Agent for Bihar writes that the lifting of the ban on the interprovincial movement of oil-seeds and oils, combined with the vagaries of the railways are telling upon the Ghani men. The railways bring in freely mill-pressed oils from the U. P. and the Punjab. This has pushed down the price of oils. But the scarcity in oil-seeds continues, as the railways refuse to allot any waggons for oil-seeds. The prices of these seeds are keeping to high levels while the price of mill oils has fallen considerably.

Because of this differential treatment by railways, mustard seeds outside the province are selling at Rs. 21/-a maund while the same quality seeds are only available at Rs. 30/- a maund within the province. This is a transport made scarcity and the Bihar Government pleads inability to set it right.

It is by such means that the natural vitality of village industries is being sapped and their succumbing to such methods is attributed to the "inefficiency" of village industries.

To obviate such discriminations proper statistics should be maintained and all public expenditure benefiting the mills should be met out of levies made on the beneficiaries and not out of general taxation. Only by so doing can we establish equity between the various forms of production.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
May, 1947.

CHAPTER VI

Science Runs Amuck

Early this month, the foundation stone of the National Chemical Laboratories was laid at Poona. We trust the scientists will turn their ingenuity to help the small man.

Village industries have been struggling on their own merits against an artificial current set up by the paddles of large-scale industries. In season and out of season propaganda is carried on against the small producers. Real progress and the best utilization of natural resources are best achieved through village and cottage industries, and large-scale industries are wasteful though all scientific laboratories are focussed to help them.

We have previously drawn attention to the way the bullock ghanis and dairies are being crushed by financial interests pushing up oil-mills for the production of 'Vanaspati' and how even the Central Government is helping on this programme by sanctioning new mills and shutting their eyes to the evils caused by mills and mill industries.

In spite of scientific evidence to prove the injurious effects of using polished rice on the health of the people, the rationing machinery has been used to distribute only polished rice regardless of the consequences to the people. Why could not our popular government follow the healthy lead given long ago by Travancore by banning all rice-mills ?

Since last November the Central Government has been circularising all the Provincial Governments to discourage hand processed sugar. A scientific approach to this question will indicate that thousands of acres of the best lands can be brought under the cultivation of cereals etc. if we can utilize palm trees growing wildly in the jungles and on waste lands. Palm gur and sugar can be obtained from these trees and such a programme will be complementary to the introduction of prohibition, as it will afford employment to thousands of displaced tappers. But then the strongly entrenched sugar mill interests are opposed to such a scheme as it undermines their industry. The Government seems to have ears only for such.

Nutritional experts tell us that gur is a wholesome food containing minerals, vitamins and sugar. While mill sugar is a simple chemical for producing energy and because it lacks the ingredients necessary for its own assimilation it draws the needed material from other items of food taken. Hence the Americans term the white sugar a "devitalising food". Even as between hand-processed sugar and mill sugar the former is more than ten times richer in iron contents. In spite of this in favour of hand-processing of sugar the Central Government wants the hand-process discouraged. In many places factory made white cube sugar is outside the ration. So the rich can buy without any limit but their purse.

The ever obliging Provincial Governments only need the sign to take drastic measures. The U. P. Government by its Khandsari Sugar Control Order of November 1946 is dealing a death blow to both Khandsari Sugar and Deshi Chini producing industries.

The trend of events seems to be such that we shall end by hanging ourselves with "scientific" ropes. Our Governmental machinery appears to be set to destroy the industries of the common man by the introduction of labour-saving devices which may be other-wise termed "employment reducing instruments". Is it scientific to introduce such in a country teeming with unemployment and under-employment?

At Lyallpur Agricultural College, the Principal is a specialist in *maida* production. They have various kinds of electric machinery to remove all nutritive elements from wheat leaving purely starch behind. There is a revolving electric bakery also. The objective is to produce white bread, slices of which will be uniformly patterned like a honey comb. This can best be attained with the whitest *maida*. Should we not more scientifically and truthfully designate this Principal as "a specialist in food destruction"? Is there any place for such in a famine-stricken land?

We in India, seem to be possessed with a mania to destroy all nutrition provided by nature by the use of mills—white rice, white sugar, hydrogenated oils etc. Is this where science is leading us?

Gram Udyog Patrika,
May, 1947.

CHAPTER VII

Goodwill with Whisky

When new industries are started various devices are planned out to bring it into general favour. Tobacco Companies have distributed free drugged cigarettes to enable persons to acquire the habit of smoking and to cultivate a taste for the particular brand. We are familiar with the methods of Tea Cess Company in India handing round free cups of tea to popularize their product. There are legitimate limits to which a programme may be carried. It must be strictly limited by considerations of the welfare of the public and the worthiness of the cause.

Recently the "Air India" extended its service to Great Britain as the "Air India—International". This is a new venture which has to compete with giant services such as the T. W. A. and the Pan American. The Air India—International is financed as to 51% of its capital by the Government of India and the balance from the public, and the management is a Tata organization. Usually the fares charged include an amount for food on the way, but most Companies make a separate charge for strong drinks, if any supplied; but on Air India—International whisky and soda are distributed free to the passengers. It seems to us that a concern sponsored by a Government which stands for advocating prohibition should reflect this policy. Some of the Provincial Governments in India are throwing their weight and influence on a scheme of prohibition. Are we to conclude that the Government of India is against that policy ? Or, is the Air India—International Limited building up their goodwill at any cost without considering the means ?

Gram Udyog Patrika,
September, 1948.

CHAPTER VIII

Sports

With the advent of centralized methods of production which left no scope for the exercise of self-development and self-expression, sports assumed a special importance. Men spent their time in factories working away feverishly and they required relaxation. They themselves were not in a position to put forth any further physical effort. They can be only spectators, while there was another group of men who spent most of their time in a sedentary life, but these were few and they needed active exercise as a relaxation. As centralized methods grew in importance, so did imperialism and games have followed the needs of these two groups of men. Their most suited game for the conditions described above is cricket. It is highly expensive and therefore above the reach of the factory workers, but it affords an outlet to the sedentary worker. The factory workers come in their thousands for the eleven of the team to exhibit themselves. This is cricket.

India has to emphasise, for various reasons, the economic activity based on decentralization. The bulk of our people are farmers. After ploughing the land for a whole day the farmer would have little or no need for further physical exercise. Similarly his occupation is proverbially an ill-paid one and he would hardly have the wherewithal to indulge in expensive games or in gambling. Hence in a country like India a game like cricket meant for imperialists, should be out of court.

Sports should complement the economic activity of the people. Periodical festivals, folk dances, and exercises which are involved in our rural sports are well-suited to this end, while they are inexpensive also. While we were under the imperialistic yoke many of the leisured classes in India had taken to the fashion set by Britishers, but now that we have attained Swaraj it is time that we shake off these trappings of imperialism and adopt ways, even in our relaxation, suited to our country, our climate and the people.

Lord Wavel, the last Viceroy, who is at present the Chancellor of Aberdeen University stated in regard to cricket that "it is a game involving prodigality of time and effort out of proportion to its importance and it seems the height of absurdity that English boys and men should spend several days at a stretch on it and go on doing this for months together". We presume Lord Wavel knows what he is talking about. If these sports are wasteful of money and time in Great Britain, one of the richest countries of the world, what shall we say of poor India sending out teams to show their achievements in other parts of the world! It seems to us that the time has come for us to rethink and reconsider many of the ways that had been introduced by our erstwhile rulers, which we have taken for granted as the acme of civilization. Even newsprint, which is scarce today, is being used liberally where sports news is concerned. At least one page a day in most of the important newspapers is devoted to such pastimes as Cricket, Racing, Cinemas, Gambling, etc. We have to build up anew our requirements in amusements.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
April, 1948.

PART IV

CHAPTER I

Clive to Keynes

With the innumerable financial devices coming to the fore of late and the demand arising from many quarters to scale down the debts it is instructive to look back on the history of financial obligations in India over the two centuries of British occupation. It will show that the greatness of Great Britain is largely rooted in the poverty of the millions of India.

Since the days of Plassey as Macaulay puts it; "The shower of wealth fell copiously on the Company and its servants". It is continuing to do so on the British Empire even to this day. Only the external garb differs according to the genius of the person in charge for the moment. It is interesting to examine these cloaks and raise them up for an instant to get a peep at the freebooter inside. We may classify the various methods used according to the function they were calculated to perform.

I. THE HOLD UP METHOD.

Again in his "Essay on Lord Clive" Macaulay says "A sum of eight hundred thousand pounds in Sterling, in coined silver was sent down the river from Moorshidabad to Fort William.............. Trade revival and signs of affluence appeared in every English house. As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisition but his own moderation". This flood of ill-gotten wealth from India supplied the cheap capital needed for the early industrial revolution of Great Britain, which gave her a place in the vanguard of industrialised nations.

Brooks Adams in his "Law of Civilization and Decay" says, "Possibly since the world began no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder, because for nearly 50 years Great Britain stood without a competitor........... Thus the arrival of Bengal silver not only increased the mass of money, but stimulated its movement, for at once in 1759 the bank issued 10 and 15 pound notes, and in the country private firm

poured forth a flood of paper". Burke says that in 1750 there were not even 12 "Bankers Shops" while in 1790 they were to be found in every market town.

According to William Digby's computation between Plassey and Waterloo, probably about 1000 million pounds sterling were transferred from Indian hoards to British banks. In those days under "famine conditions" 40 measures of rice were sold for a rupee while to-day we get two measures a rupee; so the purchasing power of the rupee was then about twenty times as much and this gives us a standard by which to gauge the fabulous value of the wealth taken from India under this simple method of helping oneself as the hold up gangster does.

II. THE METHOD OF EMBEZZLEMENT

With the passing of the free lance "Empire Builders" we come to the period of embezzlement by the Honourable East India Company. The Company was too honourable to take money itself openly. They resorted to buying Indian goods out of tax revenues and exporting them to Europe for sale. The tax-payer got no returns from these transactions as the whole proceeds were taken as profits. According to the "Minutes of Evidence on the affairs of the East India Company" the revenues so embezzled between 1793 and 1812 amounted to about 260 million pounds sterling.

III. THE METHOD OF FALSIFICATION OF ACCOUNTS

The financial genius pervading the respectable and prosperous middle nineteenth century British, could no longer countenance the bare faced loot of Clive nor the commercial dishonesty of the East India Company of the earlier decades of the century. It wanted to do the same thing but by a newer and better way. It had a wonderful brain wave. Why reveal the facts of predation? Bury them in dusty ledgers which nobody will scrutinise or understand. Britain was rapidly building up the outer ramparts of her empire. This involved enormous expenditure. Why not debit these to Indian revenues? There were wars in Afghanistan, Burmah, China, Persia, Abyssinia, Egypt etc. Accordingly over 700 crores were charged in this manner to Indian revenues. Ramsay Macdonald in his lucid moment wrote in his

"Government of India", "Undoubtedly India has not been dealt with fairly in this respect. It has had to bear the expense of operations that have been mainly Imperial". The Welby Commission Report abounds in records of many other such false debits into which space does not permit us to enter here.

IV. THE "CHRISTIAN METHOD".

The glaring limelights of the twentieth century cannot conceal any crooked ways from the public gaze. During world war I Great Britain had to incur large expenditures in India which normally would have had to be paid back to India. Great Britain, like the Brahmin, is born to receive and not to pay. Have we not been taught to forgive and forget? The financial import of this is that Great Britain is entitled to forget her obligations and everybody else should forgive her indebtedness. Had not the Lord said "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off"? "If our debts to India offend us why not write it off"? echoes the British exchequer. They have an obliging department at Delhi in the Government of India, who generously will call all excess expenses "A Gift" against which any inconvenient debits can be written off. There is precedence, even Biblical traditions, for this "Gift Method". If any thing is due to the parents from the son the Jewish custom laid down that if he says "It is corban" (a Gift) from thence forward the son will be released from any further obligation to the parents. In this manner Great Britain shirked her liability to the extent of 189 crores. The Congress Select Committee on the financial obligations between Great Britain and India challenged this "Gift" on two grounds (1) That the Government of India, under the statutes by which it is regulated, had no power whatsoever to make a gift to Great Britain out of the revenues of India, and therefore the "Gifts" being illegal transactions, should be returned. (2) The amount was beyond the financial ability of the people of India, and that India had contributed, apart from these financial "Gifts", by way of men and material far in excess of the contribution of any of the Dominions.

But then what law or order can deter Great Britain from doing what she wants. Is she not a first class World Power maintaining world security and collaborating with America, the Atomic Bomb makers! Hence she is above all law. (Q.E.D.)

V. PAWNBROKING METHOD.

The last four methods afford us a historical background against which to study contemporary finance. The financing of the second world war benefited by the past experience and therefore it is rich in the innovations introduced. When needy persons require purchasing power they go to a pawnshop, pledge a valuable article for a fraction of its intrinsic value and obtain the wherewithal to meet their immediate requirements. During this war the financial resources of Great Britain were greatly strained. They had to sell away thousands of millions worth of their assets. Their disinvestments reduced their credit in the outside markets. They naturally, therefore, turned to their milch cow India where they can use their political strangle hold to advantage.

The framers of the Reserve Bank of India Act had conveniently provided for the forty per cent backing of currency notes by bullion or by Sterling Securities with the only condition that the bullion part is never allowed to go below 40 crores. Bullion has a recognised intrinsic value in the international market, while "Sterling Securities", which are but Great Britain's I.O.U.s, have no such value especially when she is selling out her assets and speeding towards insolvency. In principle placing these two unlikes on the same footing is a blunder, if not, a financial fraud. Instead of pledging valuables, what was simpler than putting I.O.U.s on paper in the "Reserve Bank Pawn Shop" and issuing notes limitlessly, taking out of the country as much of valuable commodities as wanted? In this manner over 1034 crores had been taken through inflating currency since 1939. These I.O.U.s have been practically frozen. The "Creditor" country India is left to the tender mercies of the "debtor" Great Britain who dictates her own terms of repayment.

VI. METHOD OF MISAPPROPRIATION.

India possessed certain amount of international purchasing power. These were represented by the all dollar and non Sterling assets held by Indians and certain normal trade balances in dollars and some dollar exchange arising out of American military expenses in India. These were all compulsorily taken over to the

Empire Dollar Pool which was in effect only beneficial to Great Britain. We do not know to this day the extent of this commandeered dollar finance as the details of this are kept a close secret by the ransacker.

If this war is a war between Italo-German and Anglo-American Facism and Great Britain was enlisting Indian Soldiers to safe-guard its imperial interests, as is being made more and more clear by the Indonesian campaign, it follows that the expenses of these 2 million odd Indian soldiers should be borne by Great Britain. Simply because these soldiers happen to be Indians their expenses do not become chargeable to India anymore than the Police Commissioner of Bombay, being a Britisher, could have his salaries charged against British Exchequer! Since 1939 such excess Defence and Administrative expenses amounting to nearly 2000 crores have been debited against Indian Revenues.

Besides these about 500 crores have been used to pay off sterling debts—so-called—which were challenged by the Congress Select Committee on Financial Obligations between Great Britain and India.

These three items are definite misappropriations out of Indian financial resources. If Britain is capable of following ordinary commercial morality every pie of this should be returned to India.

VII. MISFEASANCE METHOD

Great Britain holds herself out as a trustee. She cannot use the trust estate for her own benefit. We noted that the Indian Army of over 2 million men were recruited to save Great Britain from the heels of the Nazis. These Indian soldiers have delivered Great Britain from destruction. They, therefore, deserve well of the Britishers.

Under the so-called Government Post War Reconstruction Plans it is sought to establish these men, after demobilisation, in Indian villages. This is robbing Peter to pay Paul. These men should be settled in Great Britain which they saved. Failing that, are there no lands in Canada and Australia where they can be

profitably settled ? Their lives are good enough to be risked for Great Britain but their skins are too dark for Canada and Australia. Great Britain loves to be generous and charitable but only at other people's expense.

CONCLUSION.

We have wandered from the Financial High Priest of the East India Company—Lord Clive—to the present Financial High Priest of the British Empire—Lord Keynes who is of the same order. We have found nothing new or elevating in their policies. On the other hand our classification of the methods used by them seems to exhaust all the categories of crimes financial crookes resorted to in their nefarious careers. Lord Clive was, if anything, refreshing in his adventurous exploits though he may have lacked the varsity accent of his present day representative. Have we gained anything by the sophisticated high sounding theories put out at Bretton Woods or Dumbarton Oaks ? The policy has been one of continued exploitation, shamelessly sponging on other peoples resources. How can it be otherwise ? This Empire was conceived in avarice, fattened on loot and clothed in falsehood. Men may come and men may go but the financial policy of Great Britain in India remains the same for ever.

Apart from this immense drain of wealth India's productive capacity is crushed by being made to remain a passive market for foreign goods. Every conceivable step has been taken to let India remain a mere consumer. Under these conditions the wonder is not that our people are poor but that they exist at all. If we are to survive much longer it is imperative that we must shake off this octopus with its tentacles in every quarter sucking the life streams of the nation.

THE MORAL

How are we to do it ? We cannot dismiss them bag and baggage by merely crying ourselves hoarse with "Quit India" slogans. In a violent organization people are drilled and disciplined by external orders, and formed into regimented forces. But under a non-violent order each man has to be self-disciplined and be master of his own life. Foreigners are in our country to

make markets of us. If we wish to drive them out the only way is not to attract them by our use of foreign goods. We must restrict our consumption if need be and simplify our lives. This is the message of self-sufficiency and constructive programme. All our requirements, especially in necessities, must be of local production. This restriction calls for self-control. When foreign articles and mill-made goods are sold cheap the temptation is to go for them. We have to educate the public of the danger lurking behind such a course. The poverty of our country cannot be met by creating more unemployment by the use of large scale centralized production. The remedy for us lies in decentralization and the development of our character. This may appear a long and tedious course. But that is the only sure solution to lead our country to freedom, peace and well being.

National Press Syndicate,
December, 1945.

CHAPTER II

The Reserve Bank — The Imperial Pawn Shop

As commerce and industry develop and extend, money economy yields place to credit and credit instruments. The purveyors of such are the Banks. Banking has become the backbone of business finance. When a business man needs working capital temporarily he can deposit commodities or documents representing commodities with a bank and obtain the needed accommodation. He pays as a consideration an amount as interest the rate of which is determined with due regard to the nature of the security offered and other considerations. This is, in a nut shell, legitimate banking. It is profitable to both the borrower and the lender and helps to smoothen the economic activity of the people. Such banking is more or less limited to production or movement of goods and in marketing them and does not extend its activities to help pure consumption.

One, who needs money or credit merely for consumption and has no assets possessing an intrinsic or marketable value which he can dispose of or pledge, has to resort to raising the needed wherewithal by pawning personal effects which are in use and so possess a value in use but which will have little value in exchange, such as personal clothing, overcoats or cigarette cases, watches etc. No professional banker will touch such business. To perform this function the pawnbroker steps in and advances a small proportion of the value of the pawned articles and charges a usurious and extortionate rate of interest to compensate for the lack of security and the risk he takes.

These same methods are open to nations as well. When a nation needs funds, and, its assets, in the form of its revenues and its prosperous people are sound, International money market is open to it to raise the funds at reasonable rates of interest. But when its credit gets low then it resorts to pawning its territories or other rights.

In the last war (Global War I) Great Britain was financially sound and so was able to obtain all she wanted by legitimate means from the U.S.A. Not only did she get all she herself wanted but

she was in a happy enough position to lend as a pawnbroker to the various small distressed countries of Europe also for their war expenses which were non-productive and wasteful.

After that war was over, many of these small nations which had borrowed from Great Britain became insolvent and were unable to pay back their dues. This in turn told on the ability of Great Britain to honour her debts to the U. S. A. and she coolly backed out of it, thus destroying her credit with the U. S. A.

When the second Global War started, Great Britain again turned to the U. S. A. for financial aid. The Financiers of the U. S. A. had not forgotten Great Britain's easy and convenient business moral codes and so refused to give her any war material on credit and "Cash and Carry" became the slogan of the day. Great Britain, by her own failure to meet her liabilities, placed herself beyond the pale of honest and legitimate banking.

Her need for wasteful expenditure—ammunitions—was pressing and so she had to resort to pawning her naval bases etc. to the U. S. A. When this method was strained to the extreme, Churchill's diplomacy netted in Roosevelt's "Lend Lease" scheme to save the situation.

The Global War II was a voracious consumer. In spite of all the help she got from the U. S. A. she had to commandeer investments of private citizens to supply further foreign exchange. Thousands of millions worth of her investments were sold out to meet her war needs. (This is termed disinvestment). She was heading towards bankruptcy. She was looking round to see in what other ways she can satiate this demon; and turned her attention to her milch cow—India.

There was the Reserve Bank of India over which she had political control. The Governor General had wide ordinance making powers. He can change paper into gold by a stroke of the pen. The framers of the Reserve Bank Act had placed paper and gold on the same basis. Credit and commodity was equal in their financial blindness. Great Britain, which was getting short of assets to pledge and had already pawned her shirt on her back

to the U. S. A., had only waste paper to spare. What was simpler than writing "I. O. U." on bits of paper, calling them "Sterling Securities", depositing them in the vaults of the Reserve Bank and drawing out commodities to the values of 1,500 crores?

This Imperial pawn shop is much more convenient and is a great improvement on pawnbroking. Pawnbroking asks for assets of some kind. Here waste paper can be an asset. While a pawnbroker calls for usurious interest to cover the insecurity, the rate of interest with the Reserve Bank varies inversely; greater the insecurity lesser the interest. (The Reserve Bank realises hardly over 1¼% on these loans to Great Britain!) Can human brain conceive of anything more useful?

Now that the war is over waste paper can become once again waste paper. There is a talk of scaling down the Sterling Securities. How logical—waste paper is waste paper. The value in commodities they got for it is now forgotten. Can dishonesty go further?

One of the first things a National Government should do is to amend the Reserve Bank constitution so as to make it impossible to repeat such frauds on us again.

Will the Industrial Finance Corporation suggested by the Planning Member be so framed as to increase the facilities for British pawning in India? Our past experience forbodes evil and does not kindle any hopes for the future from that source.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
December, 1945.

CHAPTER III

Debtor, Judge and Jury

In a previous issue we had indicated how the present Sterling Balances are but the resultant of many items of expenditure that have been debited to India, and later appropriated out of our revenues and other items representing goods taken away from India, not on a contract basis, but more or less, on a system of confiscation. We had pointed out that these debts, if properly scrutinized and adjudicated by an impartial tribunal, will show a credit balance to India of about five thousand seven hundred crores. We have also suggested an impartial judicial tribunal to be appointed to go into all transactions of public debts and credits since the days of Clive to the present day.

A few days ago Dr. Hugh Dalton, the Chancellor of the British Exchequer, threatened to use the giant strength of Great Britain in repudiating her legitimate dues to her creditors. The nobility of strength lies in using it in the defence of the weak and the needy, not in terrorising the world to do the will of the wielder of the big stick.

Now comes the news that to a question in the Parliament, raised by Col. Crostwaite Eyre, asking if Dr. Dalton's statement, that the war debts owed by Great Britain are to be very substantially scaled down represented the British Government's policy, the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, replied saying that "there is nothing new in this policy which so far as the Sterling Area Countries are concerned, was set out in Article 10 of Anglo-American financial agreement of December 13, 1945".

When it suits the parties they preach the high principles of sanctity of contracts and the fulfilment of obligations and when it does not suit them they come out with excuses which will not appeal to anybody but themselves. When India was a debtor, we were not even given a hearing when we questioned the accuracy of the debts. And these very debts have been settled by the Britishers themselves paying themselves out of Indian revenues, the public of India having had no voice or say in the matter.

By an adventitious circumstance now India stands as a creditor. These credits were not piled up by India supplying war materials on her own volition. Whatever was needed was taken by the British Government of India and, in return, paper notes were substituted, resulting in untold suffering caused by maladjustment in the economic organization of the country. Ultimately we can trace, not only the Bengal famine, but even the recurring famines since, to this disruption of the economic structure. The poor people of India have not only suffered physically but millions have lost their lives as a consequence. It would, therefore, be seen that the claims of Great Britain to scale down her debts are not tenable.

When a powerful debtor country wishes to get out of its obligations there will be nothing to prevent dissatisfaction, hatred and ill-will between the parties. These are the seeds on which global wars are raised. If you wish to prevent the mighty relying on their might to suppress justice and fair play, we ought to have an International Tribunal to adjudicate on such matters. Would it be possible for the UNO to bring into existence such a body to which these and other such questions may be referred and thus prevent the debtor himself playing the role of the Judge and the Jury?

Gram Udyog Patrika,
July, 1947.

CHAPTER IV

Government and Deflation

The Government has formulated some plans for meeting the problem of ever soaring inflation. These plans are over-weighted on the side of large-scale industries. When we take the production of agriculture and village industries, the output of large-scale industries is infinitesimal. Therefore, if we want to increase the production, even a slight improvement of agriculture and village industries will provide a great lever for banishing inflation. But this factor of production has been almost ignored.

One has to remember that the large measure of this inflation is due to the spendthrift nature of this Government which in itself is an outcome of a fall in a sense of values in the income and expenditure on Governmental affairs. The remedy for this cause of inflation would be to increase the value of money while reducing the quantity that gets into any particular hands. For instance, a man with Rs. 10/- in his hands has a certain value for his tenth rupee, while another with one lac at his disposal would have comparatively little or no value for his last rupee. To meet this difference in the unitary value of the margin, it is necessary to cut down the funds available to any Government Department. The simple way of doing this is to decentralize both the revenue collection and dispersal of expenditures. We have to develop a system of local administration which will resuscitate the ancient methods of village republics. Until this is done, fighting inflation will be merely dealing with symptoms and not the disease.

Similarly the use of money must be largely restricted by introduction of certain amount of exchange in commodities in local transactions by the instrumentality of multi-purpose co-operative societies.

These reforms under conditions prevailing today may lead to a certain amount of looseness in administration. But we have to face this problem so as to educate the villagers to shoulder

responsibility. Centuries of foreign rule have brought us to the present state of a diminished sense of public duties. To build up this civic character of the people, it may take some decades, but that is a period which has to be gone through before the people can be expected to take up the responsibilities of Swaraj.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
November, 1948.

CHAPTER V

The Haves Have It

The Food Minister, addressing a Meeting of the Indian Central Sugarcane Committee, stated that it has been calculated that the people have paid about Rs. 70 crores, in the form of Protective Duty, to establish the sugar industry. Apart from these protective duties, crores have been spent to develop cane varieties which will yield highest per cent of sugar and which will ripen at different periods of the year to keep the mills working all the year round. Sugar is inferior nutritionally to Gur. Sugarcane requires intensive cultivation on the best irrigated lands which can produce rice and other food crops. Bihar, which was a surplus province in rice, is now dependent on imports to feed its people owing to the shifting of crops from rice to sugarcane. All this has been done in the interests of mill-owners at terrific loss to the people—financially and nutritionally.

Vested interests are never tired of pointing out that Village Industries cannot stand on their legs and cannot compete with the mills. Under such odds and handicaps it is a surprise that the village industries even exist to tell the tale. How much has the Government spent to further the gur industry, especially the Palm Gur variety?

The development of Palm Gur makes no inroads on cultivable land as the palms especially date, palmyra etc., grow on waste lands. It is an industry which forms a good complement to the prohibition programme in utilising to good productive purpose the skill of the displaced tappers.

We are told that the Government of Bombay, intend to levy a cess of six annas per Bengal Maund for sugarcane going into sugar factories in the province. This is calculated to yield about a crore, which will be earmarked for the further development of this industry. Is there no end to this spoon-feeding of these hefty mills at the cost of the public? Now that they have been placed on their feet at public cost, they should be made to bear the expense of further expansion and may even be taxed heavily for the benefit of the public.

As a measure of combating inflation the Government of India are contemplating reducing the price of sugar, but lest it should tell on the fat profits of the mills they are considering whether this reduction should not be made on the price of sugarcane so that the burden may fall on the back of the farmer! The Government policy seems to be "from him who hath not, even the little he hath shall be taken away and given to him who hath".

Gram Udyog Patrika,
November, 1948.

PART V

CHAPTER I

An Outline of A Planned Economic Order

In this part we shall attempt, with special reference to our own country, to obtain a bird's-eye-view of the general lines on which a Socio-Economic organization should strive to bring into practice the principles we had considered in Part I.

The wealthy and the powerful are well able to take care of themselves, but only the general masses in our country, who are helpless and poverty-stricken, need the attention of an organized society. Therefore, the trend of our approach will be directed towards that end.

TRUE DEMOCRACY

Democracy, as we find it in the West, is a delegated autocracy and differs little from the organization of totalitarian states. They are all in effect complete dictatorships, masquerading under variegated colourful names. The essence of democracy is that the executive and the legislative power must be vested in the people—in each individual. In an enlightened sense, each citizen must be capable of being a law unto himself. This endows him with the power to act not only rightly, but also wrongly. For such a state to work for the common good of all, a high standard of moral development in each citizen composing the state is an essential prerequisite. Everyone should be keenly conscious of his duties rather than his rights. The present so-called democracies are based on rights. An emphasis on rights leads to conflict ultimately. Insistence on rights is a primitive stage of evolution. Animals know no other relationship. But the more evolved man displays a keener sense of duties. Carrying out one's duties, even when irksome and against one's natural inclinations, calls for a high order of self-discipline and self-control. When each citizen is so disciplined as to act on what is right, taking a detached view of affairs, he can be entrusted with the executive and legislative powers without fear of his misusing them. In such a state there is no place for the army, navy, air force or the police, as each

citizen will act on the square, and his conscience will be his own policeman and legislature. Of course this is our final goal and will, when realized, be the Ram Rajya. At present we mortals are still imperfect and far from this state. Yet we have persons who are selfless and devoted to their ideals and seek their self-realisation in the service of their fellowmen. As a first step we shall accept society as it is. There are with us men who strive after following the economy of service, others who have reached the stage of gregarianism, and the majority are naturally in the economy of enterprise. Accordingly, we have to apportion the work of the nation. We may choose our delegates and representatives and ministers from the first group and gradually work up towards the final stage.

SATYAGRAHA

The commonplace muddy politics are spiritualized by the use of direct action through Satyagraha. By the use of this instrument to settle disputes one tries to win over one's opponent by persuasion, and failing that one invites suffering on oneself to draw out that which is highest in the opponent. In this method there is no room for the play of the baser elements of human nature. Anger, hatred and jealousy, often resulting even in murder, has been the order of the day in political life. But now an attempt should be made to appeal to the higher nature in man to settle differences amicably, rather than to might, violence, bloodshed and the savagery of modern wars.

GOVERNMENT

We have already pointed out that the aim of politics is to serve the masses. By political means we get control of Government and use Government functions to serve the needs of the people. In matters of State there are many things that call for a long view of affairs which are naturally opposed to the short-sighted interests often governing the decisions of individuals. Therefore, such items have to be undertaken in the common interests of the nation, though in some cases these may be directly opposed to individual interests, have to be detailed out to a group of men who can be relied on to do their duty by the nation as a whole.

The members of this group, dedicated to the economy of service, will not attempt to exploit their position; they will be paid an allowance not based on the fabulous profits made by merchants of rare ability, but on the earnings of the average citizen in the village. According to the Government Industrial Survey of the Central Provinces and Berar the average income of a villager is about a rupee per month. From the taxes drawn from such persons it would be iniquitous to pay thousands a month to those who are supposed to serve him. The best of village industries cannot pay more than about Rs. 75/- per month per family. Hence, even a salary of Rs. 200/- per month for the Commissioner of a Division would be on the liberal side. That being so, all other emoluments will be scaled down accordingly. The fees of lawyers, doctors, etc., and the remuneration of engineers, teachers and other public servants will also fall in line. At present the princely salaries of Government servants are setting a standard completely out of keeping with the country's capacity to pay. It is this anomalous standard that is responsible for driving all the educated into clerical jobs. If we would have the educated take interest in the villages, we have to alter this glamorous attraction of the desk. The Government, being the largest single employer and spender, has the responsibility of directing employment to desired channels by its planned expenditures. Our National Government has to take this into account. The Congress Government made a good beginning by limiting the highest salaries to Rs. 500/-. The full implication of this step is not often realized. It has far-reaching consequences.

FUNCTIONS

Apart from efficient administration the Government has to play the important role of the chief partner in the business of the people. The economic activities of the nation can be controlled, for better or for worse by the organization of Forests, Minerals, Power Resources and Communications. These governmental functions will, of course, be based on the principles that belong to the economy of permanence.

FORESTS

The Forests represent the perennial stream from which the people will draw their raw meterials for their industries. Our

country is rich in forest wealth but it is not planned so as to supply the materials as and when the people need them. When a carpenter needs wood, he buys what he can in the market. Such wood is not seasoned, so the article he makes cracks or warps. Seasoning wood takes time and no carpenter can afford the capital to stock logs long enough to season, nor would he have the space. It, therefore, falls to the lot of the Forest Department to season the wood in the forests before unloading it on the market. Similarly, there are a thousand and one articles from the forest which can be controlled and regulated to supply the needs of the people and keep up the level of their economic activity. This aspect of forest management is more or less ignored today. That which weighs with the government is the revenue yielding capacity of forests.

MINERALS

Mines and quarries form the treasure trove of the people. Unlike the forests, these are likely to be exhausted by exploitation. Hence, great care must be taken to make the best use of them. They represent potential employment for the people. When ores are sent out of the country, the heritage of the people of the land is being sold out. It is the birthright of the people to work on the ores and produce finished articles. Today, in India most of the ores are being exported. We are, therefore, not only losing the opportunities of employment for the people but impoverishing the land. Minerals, like other raw materials, have to be worked into consumable articles and only after that can the commerce part of the transaction commence. Any government that countenances a foreign trade in the raw materials of a country is doing a disservice to the land. A Swaraj Government will not only organize the exploitation of the raw materials for the people, but will help them to use these in their industries. Here is the rightful place for large-scale industries under the control of the Government. A steel plant may produce steel bars and plates, but not buckets and ploughs. The latter should be the preserve of the village blacksmith.

POWER

Supply of cheap power and light can be undertaken by Government by harnessing the water power in the land. This too, has to be directly under Government control, if not Government-owned.

COMMUNICATION

Roads, canals, railways, shipping and the like, have to be provided by the Government. Apart from the paucity of canals, the railways have had a monopoly of transport for long distances. The flow of goods has been controlled by carefully scheduled, discriminating, special rates. This must be done in the interests of the people. Today such railways as we have, have helped to drain raw materials from the land, and to bring foreign manufactures into the remotest villages. This policy has been one that has brought about the ruin of industry in India, in no small measure. To give only one instance in connection with the oil-pressing industry, which is one of the large industries of India, if one takee 100 maunds of Mohua seeds to Bombay from C.P., it costs Rs. 46/6/- but if the oil is pressed at Akola, C.P., and the oil and cake from 100 maunds of Mohua seeds are transported to Bombay, it costs Rs. 77/15/-. This means that the oil press in C.P., has a handicap of Rs. 31/9/- per 100 maunds on the freight alone, and that the tendency of the seed, therefore, is to go to Bombay. There are over ten thousand such special rates. A National Government will undo this injustice at the first possible moment and control the traffic in the interests of the villagers' economic activity. The railway may be a good instrument but it can also be used effectively to impoverish the people by depriving them of employment. It is a double-edged sword.

TAXATION

To carry out their work the Government has to find the wherewithal. This comes from taxation. We have to be careful to see that the incidence of taxation does not fall unduly heavily on the taxpayer who is below the subsistence level. When the taxes are collected, the expenditures of Government should be so made as to increase the taxable capacity of the citizen. When the taxes are gathered from the villages, and expenses which benefit the towns are met out of them, impoverishment of the people results. We have already seen one safeguard in the scale of salaries; another important safety valve is in the collection of taxes in kind. However inconvenient it may be to gather taxes in kind, such an exchange prevents marginal loss in the national

income. The allowances to officials can be met partly in kind. This old system still prevails in most of the Muslim countries. In the Pathan States of the N. W. F. P., it is working well to this day.

EXPENDITURES

When taxes are received from one area and much of it is spent in another, impoverishment of the former takes place. If money received from the farmers is spent on buildings in New Delhi, the country is the poorer for it. As far as possible taxmoneys must be spent as near the place of collection as possible. Cheapness of a foreign article may be a consideration for a private citizen but not to the Government. If the Government spends tax money for paper from Sweden, it is against the interests of the tax payer, if paper made locally can be obtained. If the Government pays one anna for foreign paper, and the local paper can be had for one and a half annas, even this higher price is more economical from the country's point of view. In the first case one anna goes out of the country; a local purchase, on the other hand, gives employment to the tax-payer and keeps the money in circulation. Hence, all Government expenditures must, as far as possible, be spent within the "catchment-area" of taxation.

LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIES

By their very nature and organization, large-scale industries control the lives of many individuals. In a true democracy no private citizen should have this power. Therefore, all large-scale industries must be State owned and State managed.

Most such industries cannot run without vaious forms of help from the Government. We have already mentioned discriminations in freight rates. For large-scale productions various conveniences, such as ports, quays, docks and railways are needed. When these are provided at the expense of the tax-payers, such benefit, if extended to private concerns, becomes a subsidy out of public moneys to concerns run for private profit. This cannot be allowed. Tax money must be spent for the general benefit. From this point of view also all such large-scale industries must be run by the State.

Large-scale industries are needed in exploiting natural resources which should form the raw materials of the peoples' industries. Control of such raw materials cannot be left in private hands. Therefore, all such industries should also be under the State.

In economics, large-scale industry is the antithesis of democracy in politics. It is not by chance that the Western nations have come by their economic organization. It is a result of their way of thinking in terms of autocracy. They find themselves with dictatorships in political organization, and centralized industries in the economic field. These two go together and we cannot have the one without the other.

If we aim at true democracy, we have to abandon centralized production in consumption goods. This does not preclude all centralized industries. As we have already seen, there is a definite field for such, though restricted. Within these limits of Government controlled and owned industries, supplying raw materials to the people, providing public utilities and manufacturing instruments, etc., there is a large field of work for such units. Just as certain chemicals used in minute quantities may prove to be healing potions, and when used in large doses may prove fatal poisons, so also centralized units can be a blessing to the people when properly coordinated with the people's economic activities and not used for the exploitation of the masses. This can only be done when such industries are run on a service basis even at a loss. Therefore, their natural place is only as a part of the Government organization of the country, acting on the principles that govern an economy of Gregarianism.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE PEOPLE

People should have freedom to occupy themselves in supplying their own demands. How this can be planned is simple. Restricted profit motive is a good regulator of industries. The problem before the world today is not one of production but one of distribution. Hence any method we decide on has to be a good distributor.

DISTRIBUTION

The wealth of a nation consists not in what a few possess, but in the extent to which the great majority can satisfy their daily wants, especially needs. Looked at from this angle, increase in the number of millionaires in a country need not indicate increase in the prosperity of the nation. Indeed, it may indicate the opposite, if the accumlated wealth has been occasioned by restricted distribution. Then judging the well-being of a nation, our consideration should centre upon the way in which purchasing power is distributed among the citizens. If we adopt this criterion, then industries which distribute wealth are better for the masses than industries that help a few to accumulate a great store of riches. This means that mills, which being centralized assist in accumulating wealth, are detrimental to the interests of the masses ; and cottage industries, which dirtribute wealth, are by far the better method to adopt, especially in our country, where we are faced with a shortage, not of labour, but of capital. Therefore, the method of economic organization we choose must be one which takes this factor into consideration.

The centralized methods of production accumulate wealth and power in the hands of a few, and require a considerable amount of accumulated capital to start with. This last factor removes such methods from within the reach of the masses, and does not fulfil our requirements as a distributor. Capitalistic systems and centralization are based on the presumption of capital being available. In our country where such accumulated wealth is scarce, and poverty is widespread, we have to found our organization on revenue. That means that the whole system must depend for its efficient working on the day-to-day labour of the people. A palace built with highly-skilled labour has to be repaired and kept in order by skilled labour, but a hut built with mud can be kept clean by the inhabitants themselves, with their own labour. The former presumes availability of capital but the latter is based on the availability of labour.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

The work a person is engaged in, and the daily duties he performs, must be such as to contribute to the fullest development

of his personality. Sub-division of processes, which is necessary for standardized production under centralized methods, provides no scope for originality, nor for the play of initiative. The worker in a centralized industry becomes a mere cogwheel of the huge machine. He loses his individuality and freedom of action.

The people of our land are extremely poor. Labour is plentiful, but capital is scarce. A non-violent society striving after the economy of service must, therefore, be based on revenue and not on capital. These considerations lead us to advocate methods of production which involve little or no capital, and for which raw materials and a ready local market for finished products are easily available. However much we may desire it otherwise, we cannot change these factors, and any planning which ignores these, will not succeed. Therefore, we are logically driven to the position which envisages village industries as the central occupation of the people. For these and other reasons that we have cited earliar, under "Large-scale Industries", we cannot recommend the centralized methods of production for the masses.

Thus the general economic activity of the masses will follow the principles of the Economy of Enterprise, within limits set by the Government, operating on the Economy of Permanence, as has been indicated above. In no case will the Economy of Predation be tolerated as between man and man.

AHIMSAK SWADESHI

True Swadeshi seeks to discharge the responsibilities of a consumer or buyer as a trustee. A business transaction does not begin and end with the transfer of goods and payment of money; in addition, it involves the consideration of one's duties to one's fellowmen. One who buys an article takes it with all the moral values attached to the goods. If one buys a stolen article one becomes party to that offence. This is the responsibility and trusteeship of wealth. So it is the duty of every consumer to know the conditions under which things he needs are produced. If he patronises goods made under objectionable conditions, he becomes a party to it.

Centralization is nothing and decentralization is nothing, if we have not the love that binds man and man. We are often told that Japan uses the cottage method largely. We have to see if the final effect is for the good of all people. If Japan uses the cottage method to exploit China, we can no more tolerate that than centralized industries. A few months ago Gandhiji issued a warning to the public not to buy Khadi from uncertified dealers. What is the difference ? Materially there is no difference, but viewed from the moral and humane standpoint there is a world of difference. The Charkha Sangh insists on a subsistence wage being paid to the producers. Therefore, the Charkha Sangh Khadi is honest cloth, bearing its cost, while the other may be the result of exploitation and hence may be said to include human misery in its composition. Hence, we must beware of even decentralized industries. One who wants to be sure of the moral purity of an article should buy articles manufactured under his range of knowledge. If it is not possible for us to guarantee the conditions under which articles are manufactured in distant lands we should restrict our patronage to our neighbourhood. This is Ahimsak Swadeshi.

Political Swadeshi may mean goods produced within certain political or geographical boundaries. In this there may be no need for moral values and it may lead to hatred when foreign goods are boycotted from such considerations. Refraining from buying goods which are not manufactured by one's neighbours, carries no such hatred, but is a sign of one's own limitations. The political boycott may lead to war but true Swadeshi will knit neighbours together.

COSTS

A great part of the money spent on cottage-made articles goes towards payment of wages. The materials themselves cost very little ; but in mill-made articles, while the least expense is on labour, the bulk is for overhead charges, sales organization and materials. The economics of Western manufacturers are dictated by low prices, but for the prosperity of an agricultural people, high prices composed largely of human labour are welcome. High prices of cottage industry products also help in the distribution of wealth, which means it contributes largely to the welfare of the people.

SELF-HELP

The capitalistic system depends for its development on the helplessness of its customers. The more helpless the customer the more sure it is of its markets. It seeks to kill all initiative in the customer. Indeed, the capitalistic structure is raised on a foundation of the tombstones of consumers' initiative. In cottage industries the principal desideratum is the comsumer's initiative; we expect every one to be resourceful.

Every person, whether interested in the production of an article or in its consumption, should be aware of the possibilities in village industries. Life is one whole. Division of labour there must be, but dissection and division of processes lead to unmitigated drudgery. Proper work, when intelligently carried out, is an aid to culture. It brings out all that is best in an individual and helps to develop his faculties.

CONCLUSION

Within the limited space at our disposal it has not been possible to give a full life-size picture of planned activities, but we have just introduced the subject to show how we are to obtain freedom for every individual, and use political power to harness Government functions towards the improvement of the economic condition of the people by the supply of good raw materials and tools, and by the dissemination of scientific information. The people, in their turn, occupy themselves in industries of their own without exploiting their neighbours. Such contacts as we have with sister nations, will be cultural and commercial, as in the past, and will not be through political domination.

In short, we may state that an Economy of Permanence may be inaugurated by the following steps.

1. The general policies of the Government being moulded in accordance with the principles of the Economy of Permanence.
2. The permanent government servants being recruited from persons who have dedicated their lives to the Economy of Service, Government experts may have to be drawn from the general masses, following the Economy of Enterprise.

3. The organization and administration of public utilities and services and centralized and large-scale industries, will be based on the Economy of Gregarianism.
4. The general masses will carry on their economic activities under the Economy of Enterprise, within the scope indicated and controlled by the Government.

It is only through such means that we can all dwell in peace under an Economy of Permanence. It may not be possible for us to maintain such a high, artificially created, standard of living as some classes in the Western nations have attempted to do, but we shall be able to obtain all the natural needs, the comforts and even luxuries necessary for us, without living on the oppression of those who happen to be weaker than us. This is the only way to obtain peace and good will among men. These methods may not appeal to some of us who have imbibed the Western modes of thought and action but we have to think out fully the consequences of all other ways suggested. If such alternatives, as may be thought of, fail to achieve our objective, and the present debacle in Europe has conclusively proved the impotency of Capitalism, Fascism, Nazism and Communism to bring man out of his primitive barbarism and blood-thirsty savagery, we shall have no other course left. If we take to this programme, India will have the proud privilege of giving the lead to humanity at large, to live together amicably in the mutual enjoyment of peace, contentment and prosperity, ushering in the Kingdom of Heaven according to the will of God, and confering on man the dignity of a Son of God.

A chapter from
"Christianity—Its Economy and Way of Life".

CHAPTER II

Balanced Cultivation

The basic cause of food shortage is the departure from the village-economy of self-sufficiency. Our custom has been to grow in every village material to meet all its needs, and to afford a reserve for a year or two in cereals. The advent of money economy broke through this rampart of safety. Even the growing of cereals had become a money crop. Farmers sold their food material and hoarded their notes which could not command foreign market in grains, with the result that now we face famines every year. The only remedy is to resort to balanced cultivation of land.

Every village should determine what food materials, fodder and other necessaries like cotton and oil seeds it requires and concentrate its production on these, not for the exchange market, but for its own use. Every plot of ground must be earmarked for growing a particular crop, not according to the whims of the farmer but according to the dictates of the needs of the village, as determined by its council or Government, which will authorise such use of the land by a system of careful licensing.

The food question, which has assumed serious proportion now, does not promise an immediate solution. The problem is twofold. Immediately, there is a calories shortage and there is also the long standing shortage of protective foods. The first problem may find a solution but the second one is going to present difficulties.

It is ordinarily presumed that an acre of land provides more calories through the production of grains than through any other food. But, apart from the question of calories, the grains are very poor suppliers of protective food factors. Therefore, if we aim at getting these factors from cereals only, huge quantities of grains will be required. On the other hand, if the grains are substituted and supplemented by foods like fruits and vegetables, milk and its products, gur, nuts and oilseeds, etc., the protective food factors required to make up a balanced diet may be obtained through lesser quantities of these types of food than through grains alone.

Even the supply of calories per acre is greater in the case of gur and of the root vegetables like potato than in the case of cereal grains. Thus, a balanced diet may be a double blessing and may offer the solution to our problem. It reduces the per capita requirement of land and at the same time, it supplies the body with all its requirements in their correct proportions so as to keep it fit and healthy. It is calculated that the per capita land available in India, at present, for food cultivation comes to about 0·7 acre. This very land, which is found to be too inadequate to meet our requirements in food according to the present distribution of cultivation, becomes sufficient in the re-ordered system of agriculture. In this manner the land of the locality should be so distributed for the purpose of growing crops as to provide its population with all the needed materials for a balanced diet, clothing and all primary necessities. This aspect of the question should be thoroughly investigated and a definite plan chalked out and enforced by licensing farmers to grow only certain crops on their lands. The following table shows land distribution for balanced cultivation for a population of one lakh.

	Ozs. per day	Calories	Lbs. per annum	Per Lakh of Population: Land required (in acres)	For seed & waste 15% extra	Total	Percentage Land distribution
I. DIET							
Cereals	16	1600	365.00	43,400	6,510	49,910	65.2
Pulses	2	200	45.60	5,400	810	6,210	8.0
Gur	2	200	45.60	1,200	180	1,380	1.8
Nuts	1	145	22.80	2,600	290	2,990 }	8.4
Oil	½	255	11.40	3,000	450	3,450 }	
Ghee	½	—	11.40	—	—	—	—
Milk	12	240	273.75	—	—	—	—
Vegetables	8	48	182.50	1,600	240	1,840	2.4
Potatoes Tubers,	4	100	91.25	1,000	150	1,150	1.5
Fruits	4	52	91.25	900	135	1,035	1.4
II. CLOTHING							
Cotton			12.50	7,500	1,125	8,625	11.3
Total		2860		66,600	9,990	76,590	100.0

This table provides for a balanced vegetarian diet yielding 2,860 calories per day for the average person and allows for the growing of cotton for 25 yards of cloth per annum per head. For non-vegetarian diet 6 ozs. of milk may be substituted by 4 ozs. of meat or fish and one egg.

In addition to food and fodder it must try to produce raw materials suitable for village industries rather than for factories. For example, instead of growing thick-rind sugar-cane or long staple cotton, as demanded by the factories, soft-rind sugar-cane, as can be crushed by village kolhus for gur-making, and short staple cotton, as required for hand-spinning, should be grown. The surplus land can be utilised to supplement crops needed by surrounding districts. Land utilised for sugar-cane for the factory, tobacco, jute and other money crops should be reduced to the minimum or even eliminated altogether.

There should be differential land taxes, etc., to regulate the price of agricultural products as between themselves and in their relation to industrial products.

Commercial crops such as tobacco, jute, sugar-cane, etc., are doubly wasteful. They reduce the food production for man as well as for animals, which would otherwise have got their fodder from food crops.

Primary products like cereals and milk should not be allowed to be used for commercial purposes for obtaining starch and casein.

Unless we tackle, in all earnestness, this question of balanced cultivation with a view to self-sufficiency, all pious wishes to avoid famine of food and cloth will be in vain.

It may be mentioned here, that what has been outlined above is the correct end of planning to begin with. From there, we have to proceed, step by step, to public utilities, key industries and large-scale production. To commence with the last mentioned is to build the pyramid from the apex.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
June, 1946.

CHAPTER III

Is it Narrow and Self-Centred?

One of the common criticisms levelled against the "Balanced Cultivation" that has been suggested as a means of meeting our deficits in primary necessities is that such a plan is narrow and self-centered. The critics say that the world has shrunk and we cannot live to ourselves. They suggest we should have a world-wide view point which will enable us to take advantage of production methods evolved in other parts of the world and that we must look upon the human race as one family.

We fully endorse the sentiment and the final goal of the critics, and our methods are calculated to lead to that very destination. If a person wants to fly from Delhi to Madras he has to get up from his chair, walk on foot to the car at the steps of the house and drive on the earth to the ærodrome, and again walk on foot to the gangway and climb by steps into the plane before he can begin flying. It would be childish to argue walking is primitive, motoring is slow and so these should not form any part of your journey and that you must fly from the start to the finish. The critics referred to above are in a similar position.

If we wish to avoid global wars and live in a friendly atmosphere the scramble for primary necessities should cease. Every nation should produce its principal articles of food and clothing. Trade there can be, but only in surpluses, in exchange for such articles as cannot be locally produced. This is the first step towards world brotherhood. It may appear as primitive as walking but it is a condition precedent to flying and so is neither narrow nor a step backwards.

If each nation is to be self-sufficient in primary needs then, as far as practicable, like charity, self-sufficiency should begin at home. Every unit, big or small, should strive to become self-sufficient in such articles. This is the only way to assure the world of all its needs. When we fail to do this, we give rise to deficit areas that occasion famines and cause distress, not only to itself but to its neighbours also.

About three decades ago, a torpedo fired into the hull of an ocean liner would send it diving into the depths. To safeguard this, now they have divided the hull into several watertight compartments. If a leak is sprung into one such, the ship as a whole may take on a list, but it will not sink. It is no use arguing that we must keep the hull as a whole and not divide it into so many compartments. Safety of the whole and its interest lies in so subdividing it into many watertight compartments. Similarly also, the peace of the world can only be evolved by the removal of the cause of dissention—scramble for more and more trade from its several component units. Such a course is not self-centred but is the result of a world-wide outlook.

As yet the human race has not developed that far-sightedness which alone will entitle it to be treated as a family. Does Great Britain look upon the expansion of Germany with the fraternal love of an elder brother? This foraging for necessities has saturated the international air with hatred and suspicion and we have yet to travel a long way before the world can be looked upon as one unit economically. Mere reduction in the time taken to go from one end of the world to another does not reduce its size. The world will be small only when men feel closer to each other drawn by love and fellow-feeling which also, is absent today.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
August, 1946.

—

CHAPTER IV

This Picture and That

At Landikotal, beyond Khyber Pass, there is a barrier across the road to Kabul to mark the frontier of India and the entrance into Afghan territory. The contrasts on the two sides of the barrier are well worth a study, which will bring out in full relief two schools of Public Finance.

On the British side beautifully laid out and surfaced road ends, and on the Afghan side the rough, dust road begins. This Kabul road is good in parts. In places, the ride in the bus reminds one of a ride on a horse at full gallop ; in parts it imitates a trot. For miles on end the road is like a track in the middle of a river bed of shingles. The road follows the River Kabul for several miles along mountain side with a sheer drop on one hand and steep rising hills on the other. The gradient is so high that a great part of the journey is made on the first or second gear. At intervals of a few miles, wherever there are fresh springs, or near wells, there are shacks with mud walls and flat roofs, where green tea and good food, and plenty of it, is available at short notice. These places have about a couple of dozen charpoys under their verandahs for wayfarers to rest while food is getting ready or to spend the night. No charge is made for this lying down accommodation. At Dakka, where there is checking of passports, customs and excise, the Commissar, who had the military rank of a Brigadier, had a six roomed house which was also his office. At the entrance there was a sentry, whose clothes below the waist were not distinguishable from any other Afghan or Pathan but he had a patched up coat, a cap and a belt with a strap going over the shoulder which marked him out as a member of some service. The Commissar himself was in a khaki shirt and trousers, home washed, with no signs of ironing. He was seated at a four legged table not an elaborate desk. There was hardly any furniture and the few that were there were only about a dozen chairs, broken and mended in a rough and ready way. He was accessible to any and everybody. The children, especially along the route, were well-fed and the people had plenty of clothes on them, though they may have needed much cleaning. Though

there were no colleges in Kabul worth mentioning, yet I understood that the law provides at least on paper, free and compulsory education right up to the University standard.

On the return journey from Kabul, we met hundreds of lorries going to Kabul. We were told, these were to bring to India 550 tons of wheat, given free by Afghanistan to relieve the famine in India. At one place, where the bus was tossing and rolling over the roads, almost like a ship, the driver remarked "Soon we shall reach the smooth roads of India". I asked him, "Which will you prefer? The smooth roads of India with an empty stomach or the sumptuous meals of Afghanistan with bumpy roads to shake up and aid digestion on?" He shouted, "Of course Afghanistan every time." India can boast of beautiful roads, railways, the largest steel plant in the empire and enormous palaces at Delhi, with 30 lakhs of people dying of starvation in Bengal and perennial famines staring the country everywhere. "Backward" Afghanistan without roads, railways, palaces and factories can afford to come to the aid of the "developed" British India with a free gift of hundreds of tons of wheat to our famine striken land. Is there not lacking, somewhere, a sense of proportion in public expenditure? We trust the National Government, if and when it comes into being, will pursue a policy centred round the welfare of the masses.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
July, 1946.

CHAPTER V

Nationalisation

Since some little power has passed into the hands of popular ministries there has been a great deal of talk of 'nationalising' various industries and services. The discussions that have taken place reveal the fact that many are not clear in their minds as to the true objective of nationalisation. Here it is proposed to set out a few principles that should govern "nationalisation".

"Nationalisation" presupposes that real power rests with the people, *i.e.*,. with the masses. There should be, in the first place, a wide foundation of experience in the management of our affairs. This has to be obtained by the villagers looking after their common needs through well organized panchayats. From such experienced men the districts will draw their administrators and these will also supply the requirements of the province in regard to public men and legislation. Such well-based and properly conducted provincial administration will be able to keep under control the Central Government and make it function in the interests of the villagers.

When the Government of the land is in the hands of such tried patriots who will be trusted to hold the interests of the millions as their first care, then alone can we claim to have a National Government and "Nationalisation" will then ensure that the interests of the masses will be taken care of.

In the absence of such a village based and controlled Central Government, "Nationalisation" may lead to the greater exploitation of the "have-nots" by the "haves".

For instance, there has been a lot of talk recently about "Nationalising" the Airways. These airways, at present, are not within the reach of the villagers. They do not need them nor are they likely to use them. As it is, at the present time, the "haves" own them and use them. So Government control now will mean the Government will spend its money and thought in making "the Airways" easily available to the "haves" while other "haves" will provide the service. Aerodromes may have to be

constructed and various roads, etc., provided. For this these private bodies would like to exploit the Government resources and obtain their assistance under the plea of Government control or "Nationalisation". The funds available to the Government should be earmarked for the provision of facilities for the masses and hence we cannot divert them for the betterment of Airways. Let private enterprise go on as they have done. Some "Haves" will exploit other "Haves" and later on when village based National Government comes into existence we shall have time enough to consider "Nationalisation" of such services.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
December, 1946.

CHAPTER VI

Cost of Planning

There have been ideas and blue prints as to how to organize the life of the people but there were two obstacles that kept the flood in check. The funds calculated to be essential to execute these nebulous schemes were so enormous that people were dubious as to whether such investments will make them richer or poorer, even granting that the fabulous capital could be found. The second difficulty was the lack of political power which would be needed to put through schemes of such magnitude.

With the dim light of the dawn of a National Government we may be pardoned for hoping that the second of these difficulties will vanish as the morning mist. Further more, if the schemes are such as to be within the capacity of the average citizen to execute them, and if the wisdom of the plans is made so plain that the man in the street can comprehend it, they would not call for much Governmental backing to put them into practice. Therefore one essential factor is that the plans should be simple and also inexpensive.

As regards the cost, plans that call for the investment of thousands of crores in a country, where getting one square meal a day is an achievement with the majority, are destined to be largely left on paper. If we wish to be practical, the cost must be capable of being distributed amongst the people in such small amounts as to fall within their meagre means. The conception itself should be such as to catch their imagination. If this can be done then the people's co-operation can be obtained without any coercion.

To adjust our schemes accordingly it is of the first importance to remember that ours is an agricultural country, where over 70% are occupied on the exploitation of the earth and an additional 18% on industries connected with it. Hence it would be foolish to ignore this section of the public in our plans. Indeed, any plan worth the name, should start by planning the life of this section first. That means we have to initiate a systematic and an efficient production through a careful reorganization of village industries.

In the nature of things, these will not call for much capital, and if the people concerned are convinced, they would take to working the schemes on their own. Of course, certain functions of Government, ancillary to these occupations, such as irrigation, land and forest conservation etc., will need funds, but these would be modest in comparison with the demands of the schemes put forward to "Industrialise" the country.

In tackling this end first we would have arranged for the gainful occupation of nearly 90% of the population without much difficulty. Having done that, the Government may turn its attention to public utilities, key industries and communications. It ought not to be a herculean task to find the capital needed for this part of the work if the first step taken to arrange for the 90% of the population had resulted in their increased productivity.

We trust that the Government that will now assume power will put first things first and go about their work in such a systematic manner as to reduce both the money cost and human cost of ushering in a planned economy.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
June, 1946.

CHAPTER VII

A Criticism—Sir Ardeshir Dalal's Plan

"Provided Government and the people pull together and certain conditions are satisfied", God's will be done on earth as in Heaven. This broad generalization is in perfect keeping with the pious sentiments showered by Sir Ardeshir Dalal at the last General Policy Committee Meeting explaining the progress of his reconstruction plans. Only his schemes did not include the item of who is to bell the cat and how. With all his good intentions and well meaning efforts, poor Sir Ardeshir is realising that he is a mere cog in the Imperial Machinery. His speech was a song of frustrated energy.

Referring to the scandalous protection enjoyed by British Capital in our country under the present constitution, he bewails helplessly that "It is not possible for the industrial development of India to proceed unhindered so long as these constitutional provisions remain on the statute book".

Sir Ardeshir would wait till the "Political difficulties......... are over" to disclose the foundations and ground work which he is busy preparing. It does not require a planning member to prophesy this. Once this nightmare of British domination is disposed of, the prosperity of the people will be assured by their industry. The country will turn green as after a spring shower. What is holding them down is this terrible foreign yoke and exploitation.

There is little that distinguishes his schemes from the nebulous plans that have been placed before us from time to time by the National Planning Committee for the last several years. There is a talk of regulated key industries with public utilities as a Government preserve. Even for these modest socialistic suggestions is there any guarantee that the Imperialist Government will support it seriously for a moment otherwise than as a "Punch and Juddy" side show, to divert popular attention from their unholy negotiations and alliance with the U. S. A. for the methodical exploitation of the world rid of their German and Japanese competitors? It appears to us poor Sir Ardeshir will live to

bemoan the futility of his genuine efforts. After our experience of the use made of the Reserve Bank his talk of an Industrial Finance Corporation gives us the creeps. The fewer the organizations under British rule the better. Every institution they start in that line proves a halter on our industrial progress. The Reserve Bank had proved itself during this war to be a good sponge to soak up every drop of blood left in the country. To this has been added a Tariff Board! Thus will go on the snow ball of exploitation.

Sir Ardeshir had been detailed out to plan the economic activity of a country of 400 millions. Even the little thought that he has given this subject will hardly touch one or two million. The masses have been left severely alone. These teeming millions have to be left to their own devices. Is there to be no planning for them?

The only attempt in this programme to encourage peoples activity has its motive in the demobilization scheme of the forces. What is to be done with these men who had risked their lives for British Imperialism, is the theme which holds the field. He talks about maintaining the standard of living that had risen during the war. He is presumably thinking of soldiers smoking cigarettes instead of beedies, drinking beer instead of butter-milk and tea instead of water and wearing Khaki uniforms instead of dhoties and steel helmets instead of cloth caps or turbans. He has conveniently forgotten the standard of living of the millions who starved to death in 1943.

Practical planning need not wait for the academecians to make up their minds. Such planning is as old as society. It is pre-thought out development of society to an accepted ideal whatever it be. The last century saw world-wide plans put into operation by the Imperialistic and Capitalistic countries, which cannot exist now for one moment if their nefarious plans are frustrated. The U. S. A. developed her steel industries from a protected infant to a mammoth giant within half a century without even placing as much as a blue print before the public. England shut out Indian manufactures early in the last century and has developed its industrial octopus under a programme of all

kinds of preferences—Imperial or otherwise. These are some examples of surreptitious planning by interested groups to benefit themselves regardless of the cost to others.

What we want now are the ways and means of bringing about a desired order of society for the mutual benefit of all. Viewed in this way, in so far as the present Government does not represent the people, it is not competent to plan, notwithstanding the good intentions of the persons entrusted with it. The system is rotton to the core. Not being responsible to the people it governs, this Government is not under their control and so cannot be safely trusted to plan for the people's future. If it plans at all it will be planning for those who are its masters thousands of miles away.

Any plan intended for the welfare of the people should have the economic activity of the masses as the centre. Their diet has to be balanced. Food grains, vegetables, fruits, gur, milk and its products should have priority over all other production. Industrial and money crops must yield place to these. Plans should allow for the production of a copious supply of all other necessities of the people such as clothing, building materials etc. Production should not be looked at as an end in itself. Distribution of wealth must naturally be an outcome of production. Cloth, sugar, oil, building materials etc., produced by a mill restricts distribution, however much the quantity may be greater than the production by village and cottage industries. People must produce for themselves by processes easily accessible to them. This should be the centre of all plans. Then should radiate from this, as being accessories to it, all other organized industries. Steel rolling mills will supply the raw materials needed by a village smith. Forests will be planned to supply the needed seasoned timber for the carpenter. The irrigation canals and tanks will water the fields, and village roads will be built with the bullock cart as its patron to meet its needs. The plan will be people-centred and so will have its own ballast and equilibrium. The plan that Sir Ardeshir is thinking of puts the cart before the horse and is material-centred. He is planning for materials and not for the people. It is, therefore, top-heavy like an iron image with clay feet. This

will topple down any moment. Such a social order will have to be buttressed with violence as Russia and Germany have proved beyond dispute.

No plan is worth the sacrifices a planned economy entails unless it visualises life as a whole and provides for the development of all the faculties of man. Man is more than a mere animal to be contented with a well regulated dairy life of cattle, to be fed, watered and grazed at regular times and sumptuously; we need much more than this and that cannot be provided by merely organizing large-scale production of goods which Sir Ardeshir is striving hard for, even if he should succeed in his efforts.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
November, 1945.

CHAPTER VIII

Production *Vs.* Destruction

There is a great deal of talk about 'increasing production' and 'improving the standard of living of the masses of the country.' These two phrases are being bandied about at every convenient occasion. But what these phrases mean is hardly ever defined. These words are little more than slogans to capture the imagination of the unwary and to convince the unthinking public, which is generally carried away by much talking.

In a country where people are starving and where there is not enough cloth to go round, these phrases should carry the meaning of providing at least the mere necessities of the people, food and clothing. Our effort should, therefore, be directed towards giving two meals a day where one cannot be obtained today. And our effort should be to enable the people to be clad at least against the weather, if not to satisfy their æsthetic sense.

Industrialists appear to be more concerned with developing their industries than with the needs of the people, for they say that if India were to develop her industries on a permanent footing, the Government must follow a policy of export drive, even though we might have to suffer some privation for some time, and it is their firm conviction that the industrial development of India could not be put on a sound footing unless the products of Indian industries were exported abroad. They recommend our Government to base their proposals on the principles of an expansionist policy of production advocated by Lord Keynes,—'the more you eat of the cake the larger it becomes'. They believe that the social objectives of the Finance Member could be fulfilled only by such a policy. The hope that 'the more you eat of the cake the larger it becomes', however absurd it may seem to the common sense of ordinary mortals, it can easily be made feasible by these demi-Gods who eat the cake no dout, but the cake is not theirs but others. Herein lies the secret of this apparent miracle. Of course if they merely ate other people's cake, their own cake ought to remain constant. But the method of doing this is generally to bite off from the other people's cake a larger piece than you can eat. That of course 'makes their cake grow larger'.

The methods adopted by the present types of large scale industries have been anything but progressive. They are using science to destroy rather than create. This being so, it would be well to examine the proposition how to increase production. When we, with the help of rice mills, produce unwholesome polished rice, can we call it increasing production? Is it not destruction of the production of the paddy by the farmer? Similarly when sugar mills produce white sugar from sugar cane juice and thus provide a less nutritive product, and perhaps devitalise the wholesome juice of the sugar cane, again would we be using the term 'increasing production' correctly? Is this also not an instance of destruction of nature's gifts? There can be an increase in production over what is found in nature, if man's efforts result in an increase not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. When a farmer sows a seed and reaps a hundredfold because of his effort, we are justified in sayig that the farmer has increased production. But when we look around at most of the efforts of mill-owners and measure their output and compare it with nature's generous gifts, we can only say that the machines have been utilised by man for destruction rather than production, much less for increased production.

SHIFTING CROPS

In Bihar and in large sections of the U. P. thousands of acres have been brought under cultivation of sugarcane. Formerly these lands were not waste lands. If they had been waste lands and the sugar cane was an addition to the general production we would be justified in calling it an increase of production. Before the advent of the sugarcane cultivation, Biharis used their lands for rice cultivation and consumed hand pounded wholesome rice; but now the crops have been shifted, with the result that they cultivate sugarcane and are dependent on Burma for their rice. And Burmese rice comes polished—that means with all the nutrition removed as pure starch. However much the sugar cane crop may have been increasing bank balances of mill owners, can we, by any stretch of imagination, lay claim to having increased production when we drive the masses of people from the nutritive rice of their own cultivation to devitalised polished rice imported

from outside? This shifting of crops from food to raw materials for mills is not only a disservice to the country but is injurious to the health of the people. It is not 'incressing production' when we are shifting the crop from food to long staple cotton for the mills and to tobacco and groundnut for export. At best it can be said to be pilfering and not production. This is the kind of 'increase' that has been taking place in the country and which has led to considerable distress to the people in meeting their primary needs.

In the same way, in Malabar, the former rice lands have been converted into coconut groves and these coconut groves are producing coconuts, not for human consumption, but for oil for soap mills. Is producing 'Lux' Soap, in however large a quantity, an increase of production when this is done at the cost of people's staple food? The people, who were formerly cultivating rice are at present being given polished rice imported from Brazil. Hence, in the final analysis, the mill owners' efforts have resulted in the provision of Brazilian polished rice to the people who were once eating wholesome, unpolished rice of their own production and converted those rice lands into raw material for soap making. Is this 'increased production'? And is this striving to 'raise the standard of living' of the masses? We can well see that the mill owners have eaten some cake and at the same time the stock of their cake has increased. But what is the state of the common people?

When crops have been shifted deliberately from the production of staple food to raw materials for luxury goods, is it any wonder the country is facing famine after famine? If we really strive for greater production, our endeavours, should have by now, brought us to a more satisfactory supply of our primary needs. But when we look around we find that "the country today is suffering from the acutest shortage of food. It is an irony of fate that India, which is primarily an agricultural country, is now dependent upon imports of food stuffs to feed her population". Should we wonder at this stage? The fact cannot be belied and the deduction, that our efforts, such as they have been, have resulted in decreased production, cannot be missed.

STANDARD OF LIVING

In a country suffering from un-employment and under-employment, even the method of production should be such as to solve this great problem. Methods we have adopted so far of 'increasing production' have invariably led to increased un-employment. What is known in Western countries as labour saving devices can be better expressed as labour displacing devices, or in other words, devices for creating un-employment. In resorting to these large scale methods of production, mill owners have adversely affected the standard of living of the masses. Our famines are becoming perennial, even at times when nature's contributions have been generous. Is this not an indication that with all this much talk of increasing the standard of living we are really lowering the standard of existence?

People express the hope that the "industrial progress and the prosperity of the 400 million people are inter-related, and that they would not want any industrial development if the 400 million people are going to be in a bad way," "progress must bring progress to all the people and not to a few chosen ones," "we have to think in terms of the masses of this country" etc. We invite their attention to the facts of the case for increased production that have been stated above, and we would like them to consider whether we can increase production of the type they envisage by centralized methods of production in consumption goods. Let them take stock of the increased distress that has come to our land in the wake of our efforts put out in that direction in the past.

We are all one with those who want to advance the cause of the masses and strive for the progress of the country. But we would submit that this must be done scientifically, not merely to satisfy the greed for acquisition of wealth for a few. So far as we have seen, Science has been harnessed, not for production but for destruction. May we hope that with the advent of Swaraj the point of emphasis will shift from material production to the welfare of the people.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
(July, 1947).

CHAPTER IX

Ryots or Tenants

Many of the popular ministries have been attempting to regulate the relationship of the zamindar and the cultivator. Generally speaking, the zamindars are merely renters or absentee landlords. They have no immediate contact with the land, neither do they concern themselves with the actual cultivation of crops. The methods suggested to habilitate the cultivating farmer on his own land have often taken the form of either the govern ment buying the land, compensating the zamindar and giving it to the cultivating ryot, or confiscation to the State of large estates and splitting them up into small private holdings.

It seems to us that it is not necessary, in the first instance, to confiscate the land nor would it seem essential to compensate the zamindar. The course that should be adopted would seem to be to place the cultivable lands in the villages, to whomsoever it may belong, under a system of balanced cultivation, by which the requirements of the village for a balanced diet and other primary necessities will be produced in the required quantities. Under this scheme the land will be licensed for growing the products that are necessary to ensure the needs of a group of villages with a population of about 50,000. Such lands, when licensed, should be cultivated by the actual owner. If any of the lands so licensed remain uncultivated for a period of 2 or 3 years without adequate reason, such lands should revert to the State and the State can then redistribute those lands amongst the villagers, who are willing to utilise the land to produce commodities according to plan, for balanced cultivation.

The method would ensure that no land lies idle and at the same time it would also, in the course of a few years, bring back the holdings from absentee landlords to the cultivating peasants and ensure that commodities are forthcoming to meet the needs of the people, and that land is not allowed to lie uncultivated merely because of absentee landlordism.

Legislation in regard to this might not meet with much opposition as attempts to confiscate lands might. The latter savours of violence, while the former is ahimsak. We commend this suggestion to those Provinces which are seriously thinking of meeting the shortage in commodities by increased production.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
August, 1947.

CHAPTER X

Freedom For the Millions

Though the splitting of India took place only on the 15th Aug. last, yet, most of those who hold the reins, both at the centre and in the provinces, have been in the saddle for a year or more. This is a long enough period for us to take stock of their achievements. Our measuring rod will be the good bestowed on the masses.

In whichever direction we turn-food, clothing or shelter-the conditions are definitely worse today than they were a year ago. Starvation and death face many. The problem of communal disturbances has, of course, enhanced the evil as millions have been dislodged from their productive occupations and, even when settled, it will be a long time before normality can be restored.

Leaving this more recent factor out, the public is entitled to know what has been done to relieve the food situation. Rationing and controls have played havoc and have helped to create blackmarkets which are deepening in their hue every day. Money crops are merrily going on increasing to enable the middlemen to export the raw materials. We should like to know how much fresh lands have been brought under food crops and what has been the position in regard to money crops. What efforts have been made to conserve available food from damage by bad storage and by milling, and, with what results?

Our Government has been blindly following the methods adopted by countries like Great Britain and, that indifferently. They export manufactures and import food materials. All food coming into the country is known and that, when it is divided by the population, gives the ration per head. Thus rationing and control of prices can serve to alleviate the situation in Great Britain.

Ours is an agricultural country that should produce a good deal of the food we need. At best the stock available is but an estimate. In the absence of an intensive production drive, rationing existing stocks with an illiterate population, places an undue

strain on the distributing mechanism and encourages black-marketing. Our approach should be from the other end. We have to afford facilities for increasing such production as the country needs. This indicates licensing and regulating production, rather than rationing and doling out existing stock of goods. This sphere the Government has not explored to meet the present situation; nor are they even conscious of it. While the character of the problem in Great Britain admits of placing it under the administrative machinery for its solution, the situation in our country, on the other hand, calls for technical experts from the Agricultural Department. What have they done up to now?

CEREALS

We are extending the beggars bowl to the already overtaxed producers abroad. These, when they can sell or part with their stock, do so at extortionate prices. Because of the time and distance factors such stuffs have to be polished of much of their nutritive elements to be brought to our land. Our diet is largely based on cereals. When we take polished grains we shall lay ourselves open to various diseases of malnutrition as we cannot fall back on other items, such as meat, fish, eggs or milk. Our rationing and control system does not reckon with these factors.

FATS

In a vegetarian diet milk plays an important part. Owing to indiscriminate slaughter of milch cattle, both by our cities and by the military, the country is getting depleted of well-bred animals. The Government has hardly moved to meet this disastrous situation.

The other source of fat, for most of the masses, is vegetable oils. This source is also being damaged by inroads made by industrial demand for soaps, lubricants etc. Even that which can be obtained is being lessened nutritively by the encouragement given to Vanaspati mills, which destroy nutritive values of fresh pressed oils. Some Provincial Governments have even gone to the extent of proposing to run their own Vanaspati mills; showing utter callousness of the needs of the masses.

SUGAR

We get part of our energy from this source. But along with energy we also get minerals and salts from gur which is nutritively a much superior article of food to white sugar. Yet, Provincial Governments have encouraged sugar, as against gur, because of city demand and vested interests in crushing sugarcane.

We have already noticed the shortage of cereals. In spite of it, good, cereal producing, irrigated lands are being put under sugarcane, while palm trees, from which good gur and sugar can be obtained, are allowed to run waste.

What have the Governments done to implement the prohibition programme and tackle the problem of dislodged tappers by encouraging palm gur making?

CLOTHING

When we buy an article we have to part with some of our production. When villagers buy cloth they have to give away a part of their grain or other produce. Instead if they can make their own cloth during their idle hours, they would retain their products, which they now have to part with, in exchange for the cloth. The Governments do not seem to be aware of the special features of our economy, and practically all of them are supporting textile mills.

LEATHER

Crores worth of raw hides are being exported, which can afford employment to lakhs of tanners, if the leather is produced in our own land. Hardly anything is being done to train or help our village *chamars* in this industry.

LIGHTING

Our villagers are giving up crores worth of their produce again to obtain kerosene oil for lighting. If the jungle seeds can be crushed locally, and the oil used in vegetable oil burning lamps, it will enrich the country side to the extent of several crores. Our Governments do not seem to be even aware of this fact. Kerosene oil should be banned in the villages and, its use should be licensed and controlled in towns.

PAPER

The country has been through severe shortage of paper owing to its dependence on European countries for its supply. Paper making has been a time honoured occupation in our land. We have the raw material for all types of paper and the traditional skill for hand made paper is still there, if only a little encouragement is forthcoming from the Govornment. This again seems a forlorn hope today.

DEDUCTION

It is not possible to give an exhaustive list of all that can be done. These instances have only been cited to indicate roughly how far away the present Government is from serving the masses. It seems to be drifting, without any well defined policy, leaving its rudder in the hands of vested interests, which are unscrupulously feathering their nests while they may. Where some public considerations do have a play, they are, generally, of the political nature and are ditcated by immediate exigencies.

THE RESULT

The end of it all is the mess we are in today, Even the communal disturbances may not have risen if the Governments had given an iota of thought to the economic welfare of the masses. The Government is all at sea. A few people are reaping a rich harvest of ill—gotten gains exploiting the situation.

THE REMEDY

In a democracy, the way out is simple. Man is not omniscient and omnipotent. A good fighter is not necessarily a good administrator, nor is a perfect politician an able social builder. Great Britain threw out its wartime leader, Churchill, without shedding a tear when the need for him was past. The people have their duty by their leaders. They owe it to their leaders that they should not place them in false positions. If the present Government is not playing its part properly, it is in a large measure the fault of the people in not carrying out their share in a democracy.

THE METHOD

We have picked up the lines as left by the British. An empire needs distant sources of raw material and foreign market.

Hence, Finance and Foreign Affairs loom large in their Government. But, in an agricultural economy, Agriculture and Industries followed by the masses have to be the premier portfolios. At present, we are giving the first place to the appointment of Ambassadors and the equipment of embassies rather than to the problem of feeding the masses. Thus the setting of the cabinet is out of alignment with the need of the masses. We urge that the most important and powerful person in the Government must be one who is possessed with a zeal for the betterment of the masses and he should be entrusted with the portfolios of Agriculture and Industries of the masses. All other portfolios are subsidiary to this main objective of the Government. It is futile criticising the present Government as it is not so composed as to carry out the functions we expect of it. It can do no better as long as it remains what it is. The individual members are doing their level best. What more can they do? It is the primary duty of the public to see that they put into the saddle a cabinet so organized as to execute the wishes of the people and satisfy their pressing needs.

We may have shaken off the foreign yoke, but until the masses are free from the yoke of poverty, we cannot be said to have attained Poorna Swaraj. Until the distinctions between man and man and the forces, that make for that distinction are eradicated, we cannot lay claim to democratic state. In such a State there will be no room for violence. The first step to these is the economic foot-hold of the villagers. Until we ensure this there can be no prospect of peace and plenty.

Gandhiji is being hailed as the "Father of Independence" throughout the land. What is the independence we see around us? Freedom to kill each other? It is a blasphemy to call a divided country, where communal riots abound, a child of the apostle of non-violence. No government in our country has accepted Gandhiji's ideals for the country. Indeed Gandhiji is either the father of a monster or a father without a child. There will be time enough to confer fatherhood on him when the country whole-heartedly adopts his programme based on the welfare of the masses.

Gram Udyog Patrika,
(October, 1947).

The All-India Village Industries Association

PRICE LIST OF PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

TERMS OF BUSINESS

Those who wish to order any of these publications may do so by remitting in advance their price and postage in stamps or by money order. The language or languages in which the books are available are written against them — (E) for English, (H) for Hindi, (G) for Gujarati, (M) for Marathi. It is requested that the language in which they are required be stated when ordering. **Address, Post Office, District, Railway Station** should be stated clearly. Annas four should be sent extra if the book is required per Registered Post.

Bona fide book-sellers who order our publications worth at least Rs. 25/- at a time will be allowed a discount of 15% on the price plus free delivery by rail. Packing, and other incidental expenses will have to be borne by them. Rs. 10/- should accompany every such order and the balance will be realised by V. P. P.

Books preceded by an asterisk are not our publications, so no discount will be allowed on them.

We shall not be responsible for any damage or loss in transit.

These Rupee prices can be converted into foreign currency at the following rates :—

1 Re. = 2 Shillings = 50 Cents (U. S. A.)

1. GENERAL

Why The Village Movement?

By J. C. Kumarappa (with a foreword by Gandhiji) pp. 196.

Gandhiji says :—

"J. C. Kumarappa answers almost all the doubts that have been expressed about the necessity and feasibility of the movement. No lover of villages can afford to be without the booklet. No doubter can fail to have his doubts dispelled. I wonder if the Village Movement has come just in time to prevent the spread of the movement of despair. This booklet is an attempt to answer the question".

		Price			Packing & Postage		
		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
5th Edition	(E)	3	8	0	0	4	0
(in press)	(H)						
	* (G)	2	0	0	0	3	0
Gandhian Economy and Other Essays (2nd Edition.) *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	2	0	0	0	2	0
Economy of Permanence Part I	(E)	2	0	0	0	4	0
	(M)	2	8	0	0	4	0
Part II *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	2	0	0	0	5	0

Gandhiji says:—

"Like his brochure on the "Practice & Precepts of Jesus" Dr. Kumarappa's on "The Economy of Permanence" is a Jail production. It is not as easy to understand as the first. It needs careful reading twice or thrice if it is to be fully appreciated. When I took up the manuscript I was curious to know what it could contain. The opening chapter satisfied my curiosity and led me on to the end without fatigue and yet with profit".

		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Philosophy of Work and Other Essays (in press)	(E)						
By J. C. Kumarappa	(H)	0	12	0	0	2	0
Currency Inflation-Its Cause and Cure *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E & H)	0	12	0	0	2	0
A Plan for Rural Development	(E)	1	8	0	0	2	0
By J. C. Kumarappa	(H)	1	0	0	0	2	0
Women and Village Industries *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0	4	0	0	1	0
Science and Progress	(E)	0	12	0	0	2	0
" " *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(H)	0	12	0	0	2	0
Peace and Prosperity *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0	8	0	0	2	0
Blood Money *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0	12	2	0	2	0
***Swaraj for the Masses** *By J. C. Kumaroppa*	(E)	1	12	0	0	2	0
Europe — Through Gandhian Eyes *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0	8	0	0	2	0

Banishing War *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0 8 0	0 2 0
Present Economic Situation *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	2 0 0	0 4 0
Our Food Problem *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	1 8 0	0 4 0
Gram Udyog Patrika (The monthly organ of the A. I. V. I. A.)			

Gandhiji writes in the 'Harijan':—

"Gram Udyog Patrika contains solid reading matter for those, who are interested in the revival of village industries".

Annual Subscription	(E & H)	2 0 0	each
Old available issues can be had in	(E & H)	0 4 0	per copy

A. I. V. I. A. Annual Reports			
1938/39/40/41 Each	(E)	0 3 0	0 1 0
1935/36/37/38/39/40/41	(H)	0 3 0	0 1 0
1942/43/44/45/46	(E & H)	0 5 0	0 1 0

2. DIET

Rice	(E)	1 8 0	0 2 0
	(H)	0 12 0	0 2 0
Table of Indian Food Values & Vitamins	(E & H)	0 10 0	0 2 0
What shall We Eat? *By J. P. Patel*	(E & H)	3 0 0	0 4 0
Childrens' Text Book on Diet *By J. P. Patel*	(H)	1 0 0	0 2 0
Grinding of Cereals	(E)	0 8 0	0 1 0

3. INDUSTRIES

Oil Extraction (4th Edition) *By J. P. Patel*	(E & H)	3 0 0	0 4 0
The Oil Mill vs. The Ghani (A chapter from Oil Extraction)	(H)	0 2 0	0 1 0
Palm Gur *By G. B. Naik*	(E & H)	1 0 0	0 2 0
Bee-Keeping	(E & H)	2 0 0	0 3 0
Soap Making *By K. B. Joshi*	(E & H)	1 8 0	0 2 0

Paper Making (3rd Edition) *By K. B. Joshi*	(E & H)	4 0 0	0 6 0
Magan Dipa (2nd Edition)	(E)	0 8 0	0 1 0
Magan Chula (smokeless oven)	(E & H)	0 8 0	0 1 0
Dhotijama	(H)	0 2 0	0 1 0

(Out of one Dhoti two garments — " Dhotijamas" — can be made thus halving the cost. This pamphlet describes how it is made).

4. SURVEY

***C. P. Government Industrial Survey Committee Reports**
(Under the Chairmanship of J. C. Kumarappa)

Gandhiji writes :—

"Chapter 2 dealing with general considerations stamps the report as an original document and shows that it is not to be pigeon-holed as most such reports are, but should be given effect to without delay".

"The committee has made practical suggestions on all the industries. The curious must procure the report and study it".

Part I, Vol. 1, pp. 50 General recommendations to Government based on a survey of 606 villages	(E)	0 8 0	0 3 0
Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 132 Two selected District Survey Reports and Notes on 24 Village Industries	(E)	1 0 0	0 4 0
Part II, Vol. 1, pp. 40 Recommendations in regard to Forest, Mineral and Power Resources	(E)	0 8 0	0 3 0
Part II, Vol. 2, pp. 109 Selected portions of reports on Forests, Mineral and Power Resources and on Transport, Taxation and Marketing	(E)	0 12 0	0 4 0
* **A Plan for the Economic Development of the N. W. F. Province, pp. 36** (with supplement) *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0 13 0	0 3 0

Sir Mirza Ismail writes:—

"I should like to compliment you on the very lucid manner in which you have dealt with the various questions relating to the industrial development of the Province. You have approached the whole problem in a direct, matter-of-fact and eminently practical way."

* **Survey of Matar Taluka** (in press) (E)
By J. C. Kumarappa

Kaka Saheb Kalelkar writes:—

"The report is presented to the public as an authoritative document on the economic condition of a typical taluka of Gujarat. The reader will find that the statistics presented here in careful schedules are even more eloquent than the main body of the carefully worded and lucid report itself. It is a vivid picture of the slow process of exploitation, emasculation and perhaps decimating of a patient and peaceful population."

A Questionnaire for Rural Survey	(E & H)	0 4 0	0 1 0
A Questionnaire for the Survey of Village Industries	(E)	1 8 0	0 2 0

5. SUNDRIES

A Guide to Maganvadi	(E & H)	0 3 0	0 1 0
Views of Maganvadi (28 pictures)	(E & H)	0 8 0	0 1 0

6. MISCELLANEOUS

* **Public Finance and Our Poverty** (with a Foreword by Gandhiji) 3rd Edition	(E)	1 8 0	0 2 0
By J. C. Kumarappa	(H)	2 8 0	0 2 0

Gandhiji says:—

"The reader should carefully study these chapters which contain facts rather than arguments."

"I recommend the booklet both to the Indian as also to the Western readers."

The "Hindu" says:—

"The outspokenness of the analysis of the Indian problem is reinforced by revealing statistics in the book. The book deserves to be read by every student of Indian Economics."

* **Practice and Precepts of Jesus**	(E)	1 8 0	0 2 0

By J. C. Kumarappa

Gandhiji says :—

"Having carefully gone through these chapters. I ca recommend their perusal to every believer in God, be he Christian or a follower of any other religion........... It is a revolutionary view of Jesus as a man of God........... If all believe, as Prof. Kumarappa does, there will be no religious feuds and rivalries between sects and sects and different religions."

The Missionary Journal "Dnyanodaya" says :—

"We trust our readers will not fail to pray that the spirit of Christ, who led Prof. Kumarappa to write it, will bless its many readers...........to read it is a searching spiritual exercise........... The shining sincerity, reflected on every page of this book, makes it a benediction to read."

***Christianity - Its Economy and Way of Life** (E) 1 8 0 0 2 0
By J. C. Kumarappa

This is a critical examination of the economic order of the West in the light of the principles enunciated by Jesus.

Organisation and Accounts of Relief Work 1 0 0 0 1 0
By J. C. Kumarappa

Dr. Rajendra Prasad says :—

"This pamphlet summarises and collects and collates our experience and method of work [in Bihar Earthquake Relief] and Sri J. C. Kumarappa has done a public service in bringing together the points which may appear obvious now, but which were not so obvious when we started, and which needed much thought to make them clear. I hope it will prove helpful not only to new organisations engaged in similar work but also to students and would be organisers and social workers."

*** Clive to Keynes**
By J. C. Kumarappa

(E)	0 12 0	0 1 0
(H)	0 8 0	0 1 0
(G)	0 10 0	0 1 0

(A survey of the history of our Public Debts and Sterling Securities.)

The "Hindustan Times" says :—

"The brochure is packed with information which will have to be borne in mind when it comes to final reckoning with Britain."

*** Stone Walls and Iron Bars** (in press)
By J. C. Kumarappa

(E)		
(H)	0 8 0	0 1 0

(Gives an account of the jail experiences of the writer and his suggestions of reform.)